DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 100 791 SO 008 085

TITLE	Religion in School History Textbooks in Europe.
INSTITUTION	Council for Cultural Cooperation, Strasbourg (France).
PUB DATE	74
NOTE	168p.; Proceedings of the symposium (Louvain, September 18-23, 1972) organized by the Holy See under the auspices of the Council for Cultural Cooperation of the Council of Europe
AVAILABLE FROM	Manhattan Publishing Company, 225 Lafayette Street, New York, New York 10012 ($7.00)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.75 HC Not Available from EDRS. PLUS POSTAGE
DESCRIPTORS	*Case Studies; Concept Formation; Curriculum Development; *Curriculum Evaluation; Educational Change; History Instruction; *History Textbooks; Inservice Education; *Religion; *Religious Education; Secondary Education; Teacher Education; Theological Education

ABSTRACT

The need to improve the presentation of religion in secondary history textbooks is examined by this symposium. Religious content, concept formation, and historical accuracy are examined in the report on religion in school history textbooks. A general discussion on the place of religion in the history of mankind offers insight concerning religious concepts and theology. Case studies of six time periods are reviewed to determine the foundations and main forms of the religious phenomenon, tracing its impact on individuals and groups. General recommendations are offered to help correct the problems of the treatment of religions found in textbooks and to suggest that the religious phenomenon be the subject of a joint examination of scholars from various subjects, members of different faiths, and agnostics. (Author/JR)

council of europe

ED100791

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL BY MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
COUNCIL OF EUROPE
TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER.

S8000805

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

00002

religion in history textbooks

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

ED100791

RELIGION IN SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS IN EUROPE

The proceedings of the symposium which was organised in Louvain from 18 to 23 September 1972 by the Holy See under the auspices of the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe

COUNCIL OF EUROPE
STRASBOURG
1974

00003

The Council for Cultural Co-operation was set up by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe on 1 January 1962 to draw up proposals for the cultural policy of the Council of Europe, to co-ordinate and give effect to the overall cultural programme of the organisation and the allocate the resources of the Cultural Fund. It is assisted by three permanent committees of senior officials: for higher education and research, general and technical education and out-of-school education and cultural development respectively. All the member governments of the Council of Europe, together with Greece, Finland, Spain and the Holy See, are represented on those bodies.[1]

In educational matters, the aim of the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CCC) is to help to create conditions in which the right educational opportunities are available to young Europeans whatever their background or level of academic accomplishment, and to facilitate their adjustment to changing political and social conditions. This entails in particular a greater rationalisation of the complex educational process. Attention is paid to all influences bearing on the acquisition of knowledge, from home television to advanced research; from the organisation of youth centres to the improvement of teacher training. The countries concerned will thereby be able to benefit from the experience of their neighbours in the planning and reform of structures, curricula and methods in all branches of education.

Since 1963 the CCC has been publishing, in English and French, a series of works of general interest entitled "Education in Europe", which record the results of expert studies and intergovernmental investigations conducted within the framework of its programme. A list of these publications will be found at the end of the volume.

Some of the volumes in this series have been published in French by Armand Colin of Paris and in English by Harraps of London.

These works are being supplemented by a series of "companion volumes" of a more specialised nature to which the present study belongs.

General Editor:

The Director of Education and of Cultural and Scientific Affairs, Council of Europe, Strasbourg (France).

The opinions expressed in these studies are not to be regarded as reflecting the policy of individual governments or of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe.

Applications for reproduction and translation should be addressed to the General Editor.

1. For complete list, see back of cover.

00004

CONTENTS

	Page
By way of a preface	9
Introduction: definition and scope of a symposium, by Professor L. Genicot	15
Inaugural address by Archbishop E. Cardinale	25
"The work of the Council for Cultural Co-operation", by Mr N. Borch-Jacobsen	31
"The Council of Europe and history teaching", by Mr M. Stobart	37
Report on "The place of religion in the history of mankind", by Professor G. Parrinder	43
Summary of the case-study on "Religion in the history of Classical Antiquity", by Professor H. I. Marrou	63
Summary of the case-study on "Religion and the Risorgimento", by Professor F. Valsecchi	69
Summary of the case-study on "The influence of the Protestant Churches on society in Germany since 1945", by Professor M. Brecht	75
Summary of the case-study on "The influence of the Catholic Church on society in Germany since 1945", by Professor C. Repgen and Dr K. Gotto	81
Report on "Religion in school history textbooks", by Professor A. d'Haenens	89
Summary of the case-study on "The conversion of Constantine", by Professor M. Sordi	127
Summary of the case-study on "The presentation of the Reformation in school history textbooks", by Dr I. Hantsche	137
Summary of the case-study on "Religion and the Enlightenment", by Professors M. Battlori and J. L. Ortega	143
Report of the English-speaking group	149
Report of the French-speaking group	157
Conclusions and recommendations adopted at the final plenary session	171
Appendix A. Report of a course on "Religion and society in Asia" submitted by Mr E. O'Connor	177
Appendix B. List of participants	187

00005

BY WAY OF A PREFACE

Brunswick, October 1970: at the invitation of the active *Internationales Schulbuchinstitu*, a group of scholars laid the basis for extensive revision of the religious elements in school history textbooks. One such scholar, Monsignor Maccarrone, Chairman of the Pontifical Committee on Historical Sciences, envisaged associating Rome with the project. Or alternatively, in another related, parallel project? The question remained open. It was the turn of the Holy See, as a member of the Council for Cultural Co-operation, to organise a symposium, for which His Excellency Monsignor Cardinale took the responsibility. Naturally, he favoured a religious subject, but he was at the same time concerned to profit by the German institute's experience, and to avoid covering the same ground. He accordingly called a new meeting of a small group—representatives of the Holy See, the Council of Europe and the local institute in Brunswick, in February 1971.

In this large, austere town, he invited Monsignor Maccarrone and me to spend the first evening in his room in the *Deutsches Haus*. I there outlined the plan which I had been turning over in my mind since October, namely for a symposium to examine the question of the place of the religious factor in history teaching—this being the prerequisite for establishing a list of the mistakes, distortions or omissions marring the texts used in secondary school teaching. I had the impression that diminishing place was being given to religion, especially in recent years, whereas religion has never ceased to be a major component of our society. Reaction was called for. It would first of all be necessary to determine whether the religious phenomenon had really been a truly essential factor in the past, and then to examine how it is quantitatively and qualitatively included in syllabuses, and approached in textbooks. All aspects of the question would be covered in a general report, followed by a close examination of case-studies in three special reports. The persons present were convinced by the plan. On the following day, it was presented to the group, and was then discussed, clarified, and adopted at various sittings, with Mr Neumann, the then Deputy Director of Education and of Cultural and Scientific Affairs in the Council of Europe, in the Chair. Suggestions were made for case-studies and for Rapporteurs: the General Rapporteur was appointed and a schedule arranged. Lastly, it was decided to hold the symposium in September 1972 at Louvain.

00007

Then followed the scientific preparation. With the assistance of Monsignor Cardinale, Monsignor Maccarrone, Mr M. Stobart, successor to Mr Neumann, Professor Eckert, the Director of the Brunswick Institute, and several of my colleagues at the Louvain Higher Institute of Religious Sciences, the list of six case-studies was drawn up, Rapporteurs were contacted, and gave their agreement. These questions were finally settled at a meeting in Strasbourg in February, attended by all persons previously mentioned, together with the Rapporteurs and Mr Wake, H. M. Staff Inspector for History in the United Kingdom, when the organisations to be asked to appoint observers were also discussed.

Last stage: the practical arrangements. These included fund raising, finding suitable premises, typing and distributing the nine reports and the invitations, organising a series of receptions and visits to provide entertainment during the working sessions, and despatching the correspondence: it was an arduous task, most efficiently carried out by Monsignor Cardinale, unsparing in his efforts, and his very capable and hard-working secretariat, especially Miss Thérèse Wouters, and Council of Europe staff led by Mr Stobart and Miss Élisabeth Rohmer.

On 18 September the participants, who, as the appended list reveals, are proof of the interest aroused by the symposium—and there would have been three times their number had all applications been accepted—took up residence in the *Collège du Pape*, an ancient building in the university, whose facilities—modern rooms, offices, lecture rooms, refectory and basement bar—had been generously placed at the Council of Europe's disposal.

The inaugural sitting was held on the following morning in the presence of His Eminence, Cardinal Suenens, several Belgian bishops, and ambassadors and cultural attachés from the CCC member states. Monsignor Cardinale gave the introductory speech: Mr Borch-Jacobsen, Director of Education and of Cultural and Scientific Affairs of the Council of Europe, described the Council's work in this field: Mr Stobart outlined the Council's efforts in the field of history teaching: I then commented on my introductory report on the objective and scope of the symposium. There followed a reception given by the Rectors of the Catholic University of Louvain, then a banquet given by the Holy See in the fine hall of the *Hôpital du Grand Béguinage* at the Faculty Club.

In the afternoon, Mr Michel François, Director of the *École nationale des Chartes* and a member of the National Institute of France, was appointed Chairman of the symposium. Two working parties were formed, one French-speaking, the other English-speaking, headed

00008

respectively by Mr Louis François, Staff Inspector for History in France, and Mr R. A. Wake. Discussions could then begin.

They lasted for six days, either in plenary session, where the reports were first heard and discussed, or also in the working parties, where they were more closely examined. The French-speaking participants inclined towards theoretical discussion, whilst the English-speaking group adopted a more practical approach. In both cases, discussion was fruitful: in their general reports, Professor Parrinder and Professor d'Haenens gave a thorough review of the two fundamental problems; and the reports presented by Miss Sordi and Miss Hantsche, and MM. Marrou, Valsecchi, Brecht, Repgen, Batllori and Ortega furnished complementary particulars, facilitating conclusions and recommendations which were unanimously adopted.

The stay in Louvain included a tour of the town under the guidance of Professors R. Van Schoute and J. Ijeswijn, a visit to the Rhine-Meuse Exhibition, conducted by one of its organisers, Mr Robert Didier, of the *Institut Royal du Patrimoine Artistique*, and an afternoon excursion to three post-Carolingian churches at Bertem, Orp-le-Grand and Tourinnes-la-Grosse, in the Meuse area, under the expert guidance of my son, Mr L. F. Genicot. At the close of the proceedings, a banquet was given by the Papal Nuncio at the Faculty Club.

The names of Miss C. Ades and Mr T. de Liffiac, who interpreted in difficult conditions, and of Miss P. Crouch and Miss C. Goetz of the Council of Europe Secretariat close this list of people who contributed to the success of the symposium and to whom I, as Rapporteur, wish to express my thanks.

L. Genicot

00009

INTRODUCTION:
DEFINITION AND SCOPE OF A SYMPOSIUM

BY

PROFESSOR L. GENICOT, LOUVAIN

00010

The international organisations, which came into being after the second world war, rapidly took an interest in approaches to history. History is always liable—to use Valéry's phrase—to make nations "arrogant, unbearable and vain", and indeed this has occurred all too often. It has fanned the flame of nationalism, and nurtured antagonisms to a point where they have acquired an absolute value as it were. People of my age may recall, for example, the way they were inculcated with the "centuries-old", "atavistic", "inevitable" Franco-German rivalry. It has also blotted out horizons rather than opened any up and has exaggerated the importance of certain countries and certain cultures. The Council of Europe and the United Nations adopted the promotion of human concord as their fundamental task. They, or their subsidiary bodies or agencies (the CCC in one case, Unesco—to a lesser extent—in the other), were therefore directly concerned with Clio and her influence—particularly her influence on the young, through primary and secondary schools and their syllabuses and textbooks. In bilateral committes and wider assemblies, they carried out a revision of textbooks so as to rid them of various errors and prejudices, make them lay emphasis on the things common to several nations, and give every nation its rightful place. They then broadened their approach by considering the ingredients of the past and their relative importance, the division of history into periods, and the background to the European idea. Lastly, they discussed the place of history in the secondary school curriculum.[1] Our symposium is not, therefore, an innovation, but follows on from—and probably concludes, since the member states of the CCC wish to move on to other subjects—a series of meetings initiated by Strasbourg.

In recent years, many institutions and associations have been giving attention to the place of religion in the lives of individuals and communities and its teaching at various levels of education. Some wished to define its social aspects, such as the authors of 'Introduction aux sciences humaines des religions".[2] Some discussed the

1. On this work, see **History Teaching and History Textbook Revision**, Strasbourg, 1967, particulary Chapter I by O. E. Schüddekopf, "History textbook revision, 1945-65".

2. **Syposium recueilli**, by H. Desroche and J. Seguy, Paris 1970. The articles in this volume date from 1965-66.

00011

presentation of religion to pupils in primary and lower secondary schools.[1] Others compiled a bibliography of written and audio-visual material designed to help in the teaching of religion.[2] In the course of this work carried out under the auspices of international and national bodies, whether official, unofficial or private, the question of religion in history teaching was inevitably touched on repeatedly. This was the case, for example, with the report *History without Bias*, by E. H. Dance, published by the Council of Christians and Jews.[3] However, it has never before been singled out as the focus of research and discussion. The originality of our symposium lies in our seeking in Part I to define the subject of our meeting, in order to elucidate and justify its form; in Part II, a working method will be proposed, objections foreseen, and, perhaps, guidelines suggested. This introduction will be brief, in order not to detract from the general reports, of great interest to participants.

*
* *

We started with the vague idea of improving the presentation of religion in school history textbooks. But how? By examining textbooks with a view to correcting errors, filling in gaps, eliminating prejudices and emphasising points in common on the lines of the previous CCC symposia and the efforts of the *Internationales Schulbuchinstitut* at Brunswick? This would have meant duplicating the latter's work.[4] And so it was decided to confine the symposium to a survey of the general problem of religion in history teaching. This particular view was adopted.

Defining the subject gave rise to two questions. One was specific to the subject, the other was particularly acute in this context, viz. the question of concepts and the question of objectivity. They needed to

---

1. For example, the five conferences held between 1958 and 1970 at the instigation of the Inter-European Commission on Church and School, whose main conclusions are set out in the introduction to the proceedings of the last conference, edited by G. Parrinder, **Teaching about Religions,** London 1971; the symposium on "Scuola e religione", Volume I of whose proceedings was published in Turin, also in 1971; and the **Schools Council Project on Religious Education in Secondary Schools,** draw up in 1969 under Professor Smart, of the University of Lancaster.

2. **World Religions—Aids for Teachers,** by the Community Relations Commission, published in London in January 1972.

3. London, 1954; its sub-title is **A textbook survey on group antagonisms.**

4. The Brunswick Institute is now engaged in this analytical work and has already published its comments and recommendations for Christian Antiquity in three languages: "Empfehlungen zur Darstellung der Kirchen- und Religionsgeschichte in westeuropäischen Geschichtslehrbüchern, Epoche: Alte Kirche" in **Internationales Jahrbuch für Geschichts- und Geographieunterricht,** Vol XIII, 1970-71, pp. 1-36.

00012

be resolved, or at any rate clarified, before attention could be focused on textbooks used in secondary schools. The symposium was, therefore, divided into two parts—one theoretical, the other more practical.

To start with the question of concepts, what exactly was at issue? The religious factor, religion, or religions? The three concepts do not coincide. The first concept is the broadest and most basic; it denotes a fundamental attitude of man's, inspired by a belief in a transcendental universe, giving rise to a certain conception of the world, a certain scale of values and a certain problem of behaviour. The second one represents the embodiment of this attitude in a dogma, a morality, a set of rites and structures. The last one reminds us that this embodiment may assume, and indeed has assumed, forms that vary according to time and place. Which of these three approaches was to be adopted? Each one has its merits. To speak of "the religious factor" is to emphasise the universality of the phenomenon and initiate any investigation into its origins; this is a matter for anthropologists and sociologists. To speak of "religion" is to demonstrate that the religious factor is normally – perhaps naturally – incarnate; this is a question for historians. To speak of "religions" is to lay emphasis on the phenomenon's diversity and appeal for understanding; this is everyone's concern. In the circumstances, it was preferable not to make any choice, even at the risk of occasional ambiguities. And this was the course adopted by the symposium's organisers. In the second half, however, emphasis was deliberately laid on religion so as to avoid any vagueness.

The other problem was that of objectivity or, rather, of scientific accuracy, since I do not believe in the objectivity of anybody when it comes to discussing mankind; it entails either being doomed not to understand or labouring under illusions.[1] The subject under consideration affects everyone in his deepest beliefs and often in his most cherished values. It may be possible to talk with detachment about this or that work of art; but it is difficult not to feel personally involved when one speaks about the religious factor or religion. Here, then, there is a greater danger than in any other sector of history of being carried away or misled by preconceptions. Apart from this general consideration, there was one connected with the actual circumstances of the symposium: the fact that it had been proposed by the Holy See, which might be suspected of proselytism. It could not, therefore, be assumed at the outset that religion had been an essential factor in the evolution of man. Nor was it possible simply to adopt the assertions of serious bodies or persons such as Professor Trevor Ling, who

1. It may be worth pointing out that objectivity and impartiality are not the same thing. While the former is unconscious, the latter is deliberate and consists in trying to prove a point in defiance of sources. Every historian should be impartial, but none is ever objective except when dealing with raw facts such as someone's death.

00013

recently wrote: "Religion is the ghost of a great civilisation . . . ; it is a nervous system existing in separation from the flesh which formerly surrounded and supported it and which in turn it animated and controlled".[1] Nor was it even possible merely to note the interest shown by the academic world and the general public; histories of the Church succeed one another at the same tempo as scholarly studies. It was necessary to establish beyond all doubt whether religion had ever occupied a place in history and, if so, what place.

These considerations determined the aim and pattern of the first part of the symposium, viz. first of all, identifying the foundations and main forms of the religious phenomenon, then tracing its impact on individuals and groups.

Once the concept and its implications had been established, it could be seen whether textbooks accurately reflected the latter. This was to be the second part of our task. It was not to embrace all levels of education, each of which operates in its own way, chiefly because of the different ages and capacities of pupils; it was to concentrate on secondary education and confine itself to analysing history textbooks. Interesting though it would have been, there would not have been time to consider textbooks on other subjects which approach the religious factor from a different angle or touch on it from time to time, principally, of course, textbooks on religion itself.

The question of the historical accuracy of textbooks is not an idle one. Generally speaking, they show all too little concern for accuracy. This can be seen simply by glancing at some of them or reading reviews of them in education journals. Reviewers are always concerned with the presentation, illustration and layout of textbooks—in short, with their value as teaching material—but seldom with their academic quality. As regards the specific question of religious history, a specialist noted some five years ago that it was given very little space in textbooks intended for secondary school children.[2] Nor does it often fare any better in syllabuses; one recently outlined by a Belgian school inspector in a special issue of *Education and Culture* makes no explicit reference to spiritual factors.[3] Inaccuracy may consist of mistakes or omissions, like those which Chief Rabbi Kaplan observed in French textbooks with regard to Jews almost thirty years ago, or those which the Brunswick meetings detected more recently in the case of Christian Antiquity. But, more fundamentally and more seriously, it can lie in the relative emphasis given to the various

1. "The Role of Comparative Religion", in **The Aryan Path**, August 1971.
2. E. H. Dance, "History Teaching", op. cit., p. 102.
3. **Education and Culture**. Special issue on history teaching in schools, Autumn-Winter 1971, pp. 12-19.

00014

factors of social life and the ways in which they are approached and treated. It may be a question of quantity; the number of pages devoted to religion. It may be a question of place: whether an item appears in the main text, as an active ingredient of the past, or in a footnote or an appendix, as if it were a secondary phenomenon. Or a question of choice of material: textbooks on mediaeval history, for example, are far more detailed on relations between the Church and the State, or rather on theories about those relations (there usually being a wide gap between theory and practice) than on the religious life of the people, while those dealing with the 19th century are more concerned with the power of the Papacy than with missionary activity. It is, of course, necessary to adapt lessons to pupils' psychology, varying the emphasis placed on this or that aspect according to their intellectual level. With younger pupils, more attention can be devoted to tangible aspects (buildings, clothes, forms of prayer, ceremonies), while with older ones it is possible to dwell on more abstract elements (dogma and ethics). Yet no factor should ever be left out or attention confined to the "profane" or "external" aspects.[1]

Both the chosen areas of discussion were immense, and little time was available to explore them. We therefore had to find a working method that would enable us to get beyond truisms and dogmatic assertions and to reach basic and sound conclusions. It was decided to have a combination of general surveys and individual case-studies.

The two problems would be fully expounded in two general reports. One would deal with *homo religiosus*. The other would analyse the treatment of religion in a large number of textbook series used in ten or so member states of the Council for Cultural Co-operation. Both would naturally draw on examples but without going into detail.

The requisite detail would be provided by a number of case-studies, which would carry the investigation as far as circumstances permitted, thereby checking, amplifying and illustrating the points of view expressed in the general reports.

The selection of subjects for these case-studies proved the hardest task of all. Only three could be chosen for each section of the symposium, as otherwise any real discussion would have been impossible. And it was necessary to strike the best possible balance be-

---

1. To borrow the epithets used by E. H. Dance, op. cit., and **The Place of History in Secondary Teaching**, London, 1970, p. 59. In an article entitled "Histoire de l'Eglise, du catholicisme, du christianisme ou de la vie religieuse?" in **Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique**, Vol. LXV, 1970, particularly pp. 75-80, I pointed out that distortion of this kind was also to be found in scholarly works: histories of the Church—the title alone is significant—pay more attention to structures (without usually going as far as ecclesiology) than to the influence of religious belief on day-to-day existence and are more interested in theories than practicalities.

00015

tween he different periods of the past, the various sectors of social life, and the different denominations, and even the nationalities of the Rapporteurs.

At a preparatory meeting in Strasbourg in February 1972, the choice I had myself made was amended. For various technical reasons, which I still think valid—chiefly the difficulty of obtaining and processing all the relevant material—I had excluded the present period. However, those responsible for secondary education and the training of teachers for that level argued that the present period was the only one that interested young people today and that the symposium would seem "out of date" if it was left out. There can be little doubt that this is, in fact, true of schoolchildren, but to suggest that they should draw up their syllabuses and that contemporary history is alone capable of arousing their interest is a different matter! Be that as it may, the projected report on the economic and social effects of the Reformation—which would have taken stock of a major controversy and discussed the famous theory of Weber as well as, through a comparison with one of the reports in the second section, enabling the textbook treatment of a specific question to be measured against the views of scholars—was replaced by a report on the churches and society in Germany since the last war. And so, the subjects chosen in the end related to the ancient religions and the Christian denominations, the classical world, Constantinian Rome, the 16th century, the 18th century and modern times, factual history, politics, education, economics, society and philosophical thought. Like any choice, this one involved sacrifices and omissions. None of the case-studies was directly concerned with the Orthodoxy, Islam or Judaism;[1] none dealt with the Middle Ages, even though one of the organisers was, like myself, a mediaevalist; and none was produced by a Dutch, Scandinavian, Greek or Turkish scholar. These are obvious gaps, but no one could have avoided them, nor avoided those which a change of programme would have entailed. Having to confine ourselves to six subjects was like trying to square the circle. From the very beginning, the problem was insoluble.

There was every likelihood of these shortcomings being at least in part made good in, for instance, the general reports, which covered all periods of history up to the present day; in the discussions, attended by qualified delegates from all CCC member states, together with observers of different theological and philosophical bias, anthropologists and sociologists, specialists in the curricula, methodology

1. One participant in the preparatory meeting in Strasbourg even regretted the absence of a report on Marxism. But this is not a religion in the true sense. Had this been accepted, we should have needed reports on atheism, and on what C. Tresmontant called, in **Les problèmes de l'athéisme** (Paris, 1972), the "theology of nature".

00016

and media used for teaching secondary school history, and experts in the theory and practice of social communication; and in the comments and conclusions drawn from the general and specialised reports.

It remains only to hope that our meeting will have valuable results for future use, when the reports and proceedings have been published and made available in official circulars and specialised journals to all responsible for secondary education, including syllabus planners, textbook authors and history teachers, and to all who are intent upon safeguarding historical truth in both human and educational terms. It is to assist them in fulfilling these aims that our symposium aspires.

00017

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

BY

ARCHBISHOP CARDINALE, PAPAL NUNCIO

00018

It is my privilege and pleasure to greet this distinguished assembly, coming from far and near to attend the opening of the symposium, organised by the Holy See under the auspices of the Council of Europe, on religion in school history textbooks in Europe.

This venture represents the Holy See's first major contribution to the activities of the Council of Europe's Committee for General and Technical Education. It is a follow-up and the conclusion of a series of meetings on the subject of history textbooks, organised under the auspices of the Council of Europe in fulfilment of a recommendation of its Consultative Assembly in 1950.

Though it is well over a century since the first efforts were made to correct bias in school-books, it is the first time that the subject-matter of our symposium is being tackled in its present form and expansion.

By a happy coincidence, this is taking place during the celebration of the International Book Year, unanimously proposed by the XVIth session of the General Conference of Unesco. Member states and non-governmental organisations have been asked to undertake initiatives during 1972 responding to the slogan "Books for all".

Since Unesco has always encouraged similar efforts in the various fields of history textbook revision, we should like to think that our symposium will prove to be a valuable joint contribution of the member states of the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe toward the celebration of the International Book Year.

History teaching has been under scrutiny at the Council of Europe for almost twenty years. In this task, the CCC has found a valuable ally in the *Internationales Schulbuchinstitut* of Brunswick, which, at their request, assumed the role of a European centre for the revision of history and geography textbooks and has played a major part in this field. Because history has such an important place in the training of the young, it is a subject of universal interest and concern. For this reason, its teaching is affected by changes in people's outlook and conditions of life, though historical truth remains unchanged. It is

00019

because these changes have been so rapid and widespread in the last two decades that it has been necessary to take a fresh look at how the job is being done.

History textbooks play an important role in passing on the knowledge of human evolution to present and future generations, in spreading ideas, stimulating ideals, developing the personality of the young, and promoting mutual knowledge and respect, peace and collaboration among all people, within and without national borders.

It is imperative that schoolchildren be taught to approach history in an unbiased manner in order to ensure that their minds be broadened towards understanding and respect of those who differ from them in their religious, social and political backgrounds and outlook.

It has been said, quite rightly, that the soul of a civilisation is its religion. The study of the religious phenomenon in history is, therefore, of paramount importance. Its neglect is an impoverishment of the student's cultural and human formation. It deprives him of the insight he needs to understand the full development of man as an individual and as a member of society, and the nature, challenge and practical consequences of his religious belief in the course of the history of mankind.

In perusing some history textbooks, one is amazed at the treatment religion is given in them. Either it is omitted altogether on the pretence that it is a private affair of the individual, or it is presented in a conventional manner, with the usual ingrained prejudices, untruths, inaccuracies, misunderstandings and misinterpretations. Such a treatment may well be undeliberate, proceeding more from an unconscious basis than from ill will. The result, however, is a very unhappy one, for it perpetuates misconceptions and promotes intolerant attitudes in the young, which in later years will, unless opportunely corrected, explode in ill feelings and hate towards those they consider their adversaries. Such a treatment of history is all the more deplorable when, as E. H. Dance observes, one thinks of the tendency of European textbooks to find their way into non-European schools the world over.

In one way or another, we have all been exposed to the dangers of such a type of history treatment in our formative years. All too often, if and when religion was touched upon, it was to recount the hostilities between rivalling religious groups or the Church's wrangles with the secular power. It was like coarse rugby at its best, and an intolerable bore at its worst. So precious little were we told of religion as a world-wide civilising force, stimulating a powerful sense of community among peoples and influencing their behaviour in accordance

00020

with their belief in a Supreme Personal Being, who would judge their deeds and words and thoughts to use an expression dear to Alexander Solzhenitsyn—that great and brave prophet of our time—by "the yardstick of the force of righteousness rather than the righteousness of force".

It was only when we grew up and were able to judge for ourselves, on the basis of our own knowledge and experience, that some of the scales began to fall from our eyes and we were able to cast away such stock history as we had been taught and see the light of historical truth which allowed us gradually to redress the balance. It then became clear to us that, far from being merely one of the many neuroses known to Freudian psychology, man's religious experience is an integral part of human living, of which history should give a full account, since the religious ideals, lying at the root of the different cultures, have so often shaped man's private and social action.

If history is to be a fair narrative of human events, the religious element must be taken into consideration, with a sound and unbiased approach to the cultural contexts of the different peoples and epochs. For if William James is right in asserting that "religious activity as a whole is the most important function of mankind", it is preposterous to maintain that the religious factor is better omitted and forgotten in the training of the young. It is the task of the responsible history teacher to recognise the importance of the religious phenomenon in the history of mankind, and to give his pupils a balanced and fair account of all the events it may have affected.

This is also necessary for the proper training of the personality of the young. As Peter Burger puts it, the principal moral benefit of religion is that it permits a confrontation with the age in which one lives in a perspective which transcends that age and thus puts it in proportion. This both vindicates courage and safeguards against fanaticism in assessing the relevance of historical truth.

This is why the Holy See has felt it essential that the word "religion" should be understood, in the terms of reference of this symposium, as comprising every belief—aye the very belief *ut sic* in a transcendent power having control on man's destiny, and the general mental and moral attitudes resulting from this belief with regard to its effect upon the individual or the community—which is, after all, one of the definitions of "religion" given by the *Oxford English Dictionary*. It has, therefore, expressed the wish that as wide a variety of opinion as possible should be represented at this meeting, with participants and observers coming from the most diversified backgrounds.

Our symposium, as the General Rapporteur, Professor Genicot, will explain in detail, consists of a proposition of value, concerning

00021

the very essence of the religious element, and of an existential judgement implying two questions: what influence has the religious element on human history and what treatment does it receive in the presentation of history in European school textbooks?

The reports, which are being submitted to the symposium, have been prepared by outstanding scholars from differing religious backgrounds. The readiness with which they made room in their crowded calendars for the preparation of their respective papers and for attendance at this meeting, and the thoroughness with which they have discharged their commission, place us all in their debt and augur well for the success of this venture. I am sure that the delegates who are participating in the symposium as representatives of the member states of the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe—and whom I must list in honour with the lecturers—will benefit from their findings and their assistance in the course of their own soul-searching labours.

It will, in fact, be incumbent upon them to formulate appropriate recommendations, by way of conclusion, which will be submitted for endorsement and application, to the educational authorities, curriculum planners, history textbook writers, teachers and publishers, in the member states of the CCC.

We earnestly hope, as a result of our common efforts, to contribute not only towards improving the quality of history textbooks but also towards shaping more adequately the personality of the young, who are, after all, the agents of that better world we all hope to witness in God's own time. We thus aspire to assist the Council of Europe, through mutual understanding and respect, harmony and fruitful collaboration.

00022

"THE WORK OF THE COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION"

TALK BY MR N. BORCH-JACOBSEN
DIRECTOR OF EDUCATION AND OF
CULTURAL AND SCIENTIFIC AFFAIRS
OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

00023

The development of intergovernmental co-operation has been one of the most striking features of international relations since 1945. Today, there is scarcely a sector of human activity which is not the subject of peaceful, international co-operation.

There are over 200 intergovernmental organisations in existence, ranging from the world organisations like the United Nations and its specialised agencies to such regional groupings as the Organisation of African Unity and the Organisation of American States. In Europe, regional co-operation is now a habit, and there are probably more regional groupings in Europe than in any other continent. The largest regional grouping in Western Europe is the Council of Europe, which has seventeen member states[1] and which deals with all matters except defence. The Council's aim is "to achieve a greater unity between its Members". The organisation has: a Committee of Ministers; an international parliamentary assembly, the Consultative Assembly; and an international Secretariat.

The organisation's work affects the daily lives of some 300 000 000 Europeans. In particular, the Council is proud of its record in legal and social co-operation, the international protection of human rights, environment, and education.

Education lends itself admirably to a fruitful exchange of ideas and techniques, for no country in Western Europe, not even the largest, has the monopoly of social progress and innovation. Since 1945, we have witnessed what the British historian, Geoffrey Barraclough, has called "the dwarfing of Europe". Individually, our member countries, several of which were the giants of the nineteenth century, cannot afford to maintain costly research and development programmes on every aspect of knowledge. However, all can learn from the successes and mistakes of their neighbours, and peaceful co-operation can provide many a short cut and avoid many a costly error. It is true that

1. Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Denmark, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Malta, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

00024

this can be done by bilateral contacts, but, theoretically at least, it would take 210 bilateral contacts to produce the same results as one Council of Europe meeting on education.

At a time when education is everywhere the subject of controversy and re-appraisal, it is particularly important to learn how other countries are dealing with their problems and to see whether their experience is relevant to one's own preoccupations.

The Council of Europe's educational work is carried out by a Council for Cultural Co-operation (CCC), in which the organisation's seventeen member states are joined by Finland, Greece, the Holy See and Spain. The scope of the work is enormous, for it ranges from pre-school to higher and adult education and from the co-production of films for geography teaching to equivalence of diplomas.

In its work, the CCC is guided by the European Conference of Ministers of Education, its permanent committees, and the members of the Council of Europe's international parliamentary Assembly. It can call on the knowledge and skills of the national administrations, universities, research institutes, teacher training colleges and schools of our member countries. The CCC translates the findings of its studies into action by sending practical recommendations to member governments, while its reports and publications are freely available to politicians, civil servants, research workers, trade unionists, journalists, and educationists all over the world. These studies constitute what has been called "a veritable common market of information".

The two basic principles on which the CCC's work is based are: permanent education; and cultural development for all.

In the past, it was thought that one could acquire all of the knowledge needed for life during the school and university years. The result was encyclopaedic rote learning. Only a few had the stamina or the courage to last the course. However, today we have realised that we cannot afford to waste any of our human resources and that it is impossible to equip oneself for life on a "once and for all" basis. It has been estimated that scientific knowledge is doubled every ten years, and that more than half a million scientific papers are published every year.

In these conditions, permanent or recurrent education is a necessity, and today the major task of the school is to produce an articulate, adaptable and well-rounded human being, who has learned how to learn and who has acquired a taste for knowledge for the rest of his life. All of us will have to learn, unlearn, and relearn.

00025

Parallel to this development, we are also experiencing an expansion of leisure. The working week has dropped from 70 hours at the beginning of the Industrial Revolution to about 40 hours today, and experiments with a four-day working week are already being carried out in several countries. It seems that, by the end of the century, we could pass from a work-oriented to a leisure- and education-oriented society. In his book *Inventing the Future*, Professor Dennis Gabor has warned that the "Age of Leisure" is one of the three great dangers facing our civilisation. The other two are, he thinks, nuclear war and over-population. Professor Gabor fears that the "Age of Leisure" will find man psychologically unprepared and, as the economist J. M. Keynes suggested, this could lead to "a general nervous breakdown". The same idea was expressed recently by Alvin Toffler when he asked how can one avoid that people are overtaken by future shock. One of the major preoccupations of the Council of Europe's educational and cultural programme is to see that people are prepared for the "Age of Leisure" and to ensure that the facilities for a wide range of leisure activities will not be lacking.

It is impossible to describe each and every project under study in the Council of Europe's education programme, but I would like to draw your attention to the following typical examples.

One of the priorities in the CCC's school programme is pre-school and primary education. The CCC is dealing with this subject at the request of the European Ministers of Education, who, in 1969, emphasised that pre-school education could make a crucial contribution to better social justice.

In secondary education, two of the CCC's priorities are: technical education; and the encouragement of better international understanding. Europe cannot survive without a high level of technological and scientific skill, and the CCC's technical education programme is being undertaken with this in view. As a contribution to better international understanding, the Council of Europe has brought together historians, geographers, textbook authors and publishers in an effort to remove bias and prejudice from our school-books. History and geography form the child's image of the world, and my generation knows all too well the truth of the claim by the French writer, Paul Valéry, that history can be "the most dangerous product which the chemistry of the intellect has ever evolved".

The expansion of international trade and tourism has shown that a knowledge of other languages than one's own is no longer a luxury but a necessity. The Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe has recommended that at least one widely spoken European language should be taught to all children from the age of ten. The teaching of

00026

modern languages has become one of our major projects and is the subject of numerous research studies and publications.

In higher education, one of the CCC's major preoccupations is the complex problem of the equivalence of qualifications. Already, there is considerable mobility of unskilled labour within our member countries, but it is difficult, if not impossible, for a doctor, lawyer, engineer, nurse or teacher from one country to practise his or her profession in another. It should also be possible for a student to do part of his degree course at a university or institute in another country, and to have this period abroad recognised as an integral part of his studies. Although the CCC has devoted considerable time and effort to the subject, it has not yet found a solution because of the very real differences in the contents of courses of study in our member countries.

Another subject which is highly topical is youth, and here the Council of Europe has set up a European Youth Centre to act as a meeting place and training centre for youth leaders from our member countries.

These are only a few of the projects on which the CCC is working. If, at any time, you would like more detailed information, please do not hesitate to contact the Secretariat.

Finally, it is a great pleasure for me, as Director of Education of the Council of Europe, to thank the Holy See very warmly for contributing this symposium to the organisation's education programme and to wish you, the participants, a successful and stimulating week of discussions.

00027

"THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE AND HISTORY TEACHING"

TALK BY MR M. STOBART, DEPUTY HEAD OF THE DIVISION FOR GENERAL AND TECHNICAL EDUCATION

00028

The Council of Europe has always given a special place in its education programme to history and history teaching because of their importance in the formation of young people's attitudes to other countries, races and civilisations. The Council's work on history has taken two forms. The first was an attempt to eradicate bias and prejudice in history textbooks, while the second was a thorough examination of the place of history teaching in secondary education.

Between 1953 and 1958, six international conferences on the improvement of history textbooks were held under the auspices of the Council of Europe. The themes of the conferences were:

- the European Idea in history teaching (Calw, 1953);
- the Middle Ages (Oslo, 1954);
- the sixteenth century (Rome, 1955);
- the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Royaumont, 1956);
- the period 1789–1871 (Scheveningen, 1957);
- the period 1870–1950 (Istanbul and Ankara, 1958).

During the six conferences, some 900 of the 2 000 history textbooks used in schools in Western Europe were examined by teachers, schools inspectors, professors from universities and teacher training colleges, textbook authors, and representatives of Ministries of Education.

A set of detailed recommendations to teachers and textbook authors on how to present the theme of the meeting was adopted at the end of each conference. The recommendations, as well as an analysis of the main points raised during the conferences (terminology, the nature of bias, periods of history, and teaching methods and materials), were published in two books: *A History of Europe* by Mr E. Bruley and Mr E. H. Dance (Sythoff, Leyden, 1960); and *History Teaching and History Textbook Revision,* which was edited by Dr O. E. Schüddekopf (Council of Europe, Strasbourg, 1967).

00029

Any attempt to change the contents of history textbooks is bound to meet with some suspicion, and, at the first conference in 1953, the participants stated firmly and clearly that the purpose of the meetings was "not to use history as propaganda for European unity, but to try to eliminate the traditional mistakes and prejudices, and to establish the facts". By the fifth conference, there was general agreement that "almost all of the authors of the textbooks examined have done their best to be objective. Such lack of impartiality as there may be is unconscious, not deliberate. Nevertheless, unconscious bias is not infrequently present, since most autnors fail, not unnaturally, to detach themselves from the mental habits and attitudes of a lifetime."

The six conferences showed, *inter alia*, that the treatment of religion in history textbooks left much to be desired, and the Louvain Symposium is, therefore, a case-study of one of the many problems revealed by the Council of Europe's earlier work on history textbook revision.

The Council of Europe has not been alone in its attempts to improve history textbooks. Much important work has been carried out by Unesco and at bilateral meetings of historians. The International School-book Institute in Brunswick has also played a leading role in this international movement. Furthermore, in 1965, the institute accepted an invitation from the Council of Europe to act as a clearing house for the exchange of information on the improvement of history and geography textbooks. I should point out that the Council of Europe, encouraged by the success of its six conferences on history textbooks, organised between 1961 and 1964 a cycle of four conferences on geography textbooks and atlases.

The six conferences on history textbooks inevitably raised many fundamental questions about the aims, content and methods of history teaching, and, between 1965 and 1971, the Council of Europe held three major meetings on history teaching in secondary education.

The first meeting was held at Elsinore in 1965 and was concerned with the general question of history teaching at secondary level. The documentation which was assembled for the meeting later formed the basis for a comparative study on history teaching in the twenty-one member states of the CCC. The author was Mr E. H. Dance, and the study was published for the Council of Europe by George Harrap and Co., London and the Librairie Armand Colin-Bourrelier, Paris, under the title *The Place of History in Secondary Teaching*.

The second meeting was held in Brunswick in 1969, and was devoted to history teaching for pupils in the age-group from 11 to 16 years of age. The third meeting was held in Strasbourg in 1971, and

00030

dealt with history teaching for pupils in the 16 to 19 age-group. The findings of the third meeting have been published by the Council of Europe in a series called "European Curriculum Studies". The author is Mr E. E. Y. Hales.

The recommendations adopted at the three meetings represent an attempt to make history a stimulating, enjoyable and relevant part of a child's education, and to provide a worthwhile alternative to what Christopher Herrold called "the folklore known as classroom history". I would now like to draw your attention to recommendations on five points which are particularly pertinent to this symposium.

The first point is the scope of history in secondary education. At the Elsinore meeting, the participants stated that "the teaching of history should be the teaching of a synthesis, dealing not only with political and military history, but with all aspects (economic, artistic and cultural) of the societies of the past". At the Brunswick meeting, the delegates recommended that "the emphasis should be placed on the history of civilisations, understood in the widest and not merely in the political sense—that is to say, embracing spiritual, religious, social, cultural, technical, economic, scientific and other matters".

The second point is European history, which was one of the major points of discussion in Elsinore. The participants agreed that there could be no question of adopting a uniform version of European history throughout the member states of the CCC. On the other hand, they suggested that "whenever an opportunity arises, teachers ought to show their pupils the European importance of, and the European influence on, the events of national history". The participants pointed out that certain elements were common to the history of part, or all, of Europe and thus lent themselves to a European presentation. To illustrate this recommendation, the participants prepared a list of such "European themes", e. g. the Crusades, the religious reform movements, the development of capitalism etc. The delegates to the Brunswick meeting stated that "when dealing with European history, it would be appropriate to underline those points that reveal a common civilisation, without, however, neglecting the specific distinguishing features of that civilisation". At the Strasbourg meeting, the participants recommended that "the history of Europe should be viewed in a world perspective".

The third point is the teaching of world history. In Elsinore, the delegates argued that it "must be taught not only as part of the study of contemporary history, but also as essential for an adequate study of the past history of Europe". They recommended that the study of non-European civilisations and their influence on European countries should not be neglected. The experts at the Brunswick meeting re-

00031

cognised that it is difficult to find "a proper balance between national, European, and world history", and that much research on the teaching of world history was required. As an interim measure, it was suggested that every pupil in the lower secondary school should study one non-European culture in depth.

The fourth point is contemporary history, the importance of which was strongly emphasised at the Elsinore and Strasbourg meetings. At the former, the participants recommended that it should form part of the school curriculum. At the latter, the experts advised that "in the preparation of history syllabuses for the upper secondary school, the planners' starting-point should be contemporary problems".

The fifth point concerns teaching methods. At the Elsinore meeting, the participants thought that it was "more important to foster the faculty of understanding and of historical reasoning than to learn a lot of details". They felt that it was equally important to train pupils to use books and other material in order to find the information which they need. At the Brunswick meeting, it was agreed that "there is no specific body of knowledge which every pupil ought to study". It was thought that *ex cathedra* teaching should be replaced by active methods which stimulate individual research and expression. The three meetings confirmed that an increasingly rich variety of teaching resources is being used by history teachers. Schools are being provided with well-equipped history rooms, and some educational publishers are now producing multi-media history teaching packages. Today the textbook no longer enjoys the supremacy which it did twenty years ago when the Council of Europe first dealt with history textbooks. The textbook is still important, but it is only one teaching resource among many. We should bear this development in mind during our discussions.

The Louvain Symposium is a milestone in the Council of Europe's work on the teaching of the humanities. For nearly twenty years, history textbook revision and history teaching have received special attention and almost privileged treatment. There are no plans for further specific work on either subject after this symposium. In the 1970s, the Council will examine the case for: an interdisciplinary approach to the teaching of the human sciences; and the introduction of new elements of knowledge into the curriculum, e. g. data processing, sociology and ecology. It will be interesting to see how history fares in this new phase of the Council of Europe's work.

00032

REPORT ON
"THE PLACE OF RELIGION IN THE HISTORY OF MANKIND"

BY

PROFESSOR G. PARRINDER, LONDON

00033

He who would try to write the history of religion could find himself involved in the encyclopaedic and impossible task of writing the history of mankind. For there is evidence of religious beliefs in the burial of the dead in China about 100 000 years ago, and the veneration of Chairman Mao Tse-Tung today has a distinctly religious flavour. To write any history without some religious assumptions, even if they are opposed to established religious organisations, is probably impossible. But to leave out of history books large areas of human experience in which religious organisations have been particularly prominent, and to ignore great religious and philosophical thinkers, would be as defective as the former fashion of studying history simply as the deeds of kings and the fighting of wars.

But what is meant by "religion"? And how wide or narrow may the definition be? The dictionary tells us that the Latin word *religio* was connected by Cicero with *relegere,* to read over again, with the implication that a "religious" person is careful in his worship. Later authors, such as Lactantius, rejected this and derived the word from *religare,* to bind. So religion was a state of life bound by vows, a bond of piety directed towards God. But modern dictionaries then go on to describe religion more broadly, as "recognition on the part of man of some higher unseen power as having control of his destiny, and as being entitled to obedience, reverence and worship". By further extension religion can be defined as "devotion to some principle", strict fidelity, or conscientiousness. [1]

An extensive discussion of the origins and meaning of the word "religion" has been made by Professor W. Cantwell Smith of Harvard University in his book entitled *The Meaning and End of Religion,* and sub-titled *A New Approach to the Religious Traditions of Mankind.* [2] I am indebted to Cantwell Smith for his study, part of which I shall try to expound here, and which I recommend for close attention. I disagree with some of his conclusions, and in particular with his attempt to discard the word "religion", and even the name "Christianity", altogether,

1. Oxford English Dictionary, article "religion".
2. W. Cantwell Smith, The Meaning and End of Religion, Mentor edition, 1964.

00034

and his prophecy that these terms will be rare in twenty-five years' time seems unlikely. Even vague and omnibus words are useful, and Professor Smith uses them himself in his other writings. I wish also to enlarge and go beyond some of Smith's categories, but I believe his book to be most stimulating and important, particularly where it reveals ambiguities in the use of the word "religion".

The Latin word *religio* was employed in many ways, and it seems impossible to trace it back to a single meaning; rather it appears that two roots have coalesced into one word. Broadly, two views of religion were expressed. One emphasised objective realities outside man, to which he is related by religion. The other view concerned man's subjective attitude and the actions that could follow. A commandment, or a ritual ceremony, could be *religio,* and to break either would be "sacrilegious". A close relationship of faith and ethics is indicated here, and even when at later times moral teaching was separated from organised religion, it easily entered into alliance with another body that transcended the individual, such as a nation, a political party, or a traditional way of life.

With the coming of the Christian Churches into the classical world, the use of the word "religion" was extended further. The Churches were communities with a unifying faith, and their zeal contrasted with the rather vague religiosity of the time. During the centuries in which the Church tried to establish itself, it was recognised that there were many "religions", a fact which had not been remarked before. But after the triumph of the Churches, there came to be one religion again. Hence from the fourth century there seems to be a decline in the use of the word "religion".

The clash with a "religion" which involved worship of the emperor had been severe for Christians and entailed persecutions. In return there arose the notion that if one religion, or way of worship, is right, then others are wrong. It was Lactantius again who used the terms "true religion" *(vera religio)* and "false religion" *(falsa religio),* referring to traditional ways of worship rather than to organised systems. Christianity often agreed with the philosophers, from Plato to Cicero, in criticism of unworthy beliefs and cults, and true religion was identified with "true wisdom" *(vera sapientia).* A number of writers, including Augustine who wrote *On True Religion (De Vera Religione),* recognised that true religion was timeless; "it existed of old and was never absent from the beginning of the human race", as Augustine said. When Christ came, "then true religion which already existed began to be called Christian".[1]

1. Augustine, **Retractationes**, 1, 12, 3.

00035

With the development of monasticism, the use of the word "religious" was developed from the meaning of a rite or worship, into that of the "religious life". And it is still common to speak of "entering religion" when adopting monastic vows. Nevertheless there was no separation of belief or doctrine from those of ordinary Christians, and the "religious" were simply those who took to a higher degree the faith and practices of the majority.

After the Reformation and the Enlightenment the word "religion" was used in still more senses. At first, for Calvin, religion was not a system or an organisation, or one of the religions, but a sense of piety, which is innate in all men and which distinguishes them from animals. But the divisions of the Churches, and emphasis upon distinctive doctrines and disciplines, slowly led one system or another to be called "the Christian religion", and the plural "religions" was used, since there are different systems. Philosophers, like Herbert of Cherbury, discussed various doctrines in an endeavour to determine whether a religion is true. And Grotius sought to prove the truth of the Christian religion, not from its piety but from its dogmas as statements of fact.

Religion came to be regarded as the doctrine and organisation of a group, rather than a personal faith. So there were Christian and Jewish religions, and Roman Catholic and Protestant religions. A further new and highly important factor was the discovery of other "religions of the world", a phrase used by Catholic writers as early as 1508.

The plural "religions" was new, and it is remarkable that words that would previously have been regarded as almost identical with religion had no plural; words such as piety, reverence and worship. The "religions of the world" were first contrasted with Christian "faith", but before long the contrast was extended. Christianity had its creeds, systems of belief, doctrinal controversies, churches and organisations. So it came to be assumed that other "religions" were similar. They were in error, no doubt, but it was thought that they must all have their creeds and church-like organisations.

W. C. Smith distinguishes four senses of the term "religion" in the modern period. The first is that of "personal piety", as when we speak of "a religious person", or refer to people whose religion is warm and open. This is the definition given in the Epistle of James (i.27), "pure religion and undefiled before our God and Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world".

Secondly, there is the use of the term "religion" to designate a system of beliefs and practices. When we speak of "the Christian

00036

religion" it is generally this organisation that we have in mind, rather than the piety or devotion of Christians which this term would have indicated in the past. This usage of "religion", which is perhaps the most common today, takes an article in the singular in English, as *the* Christian religion, and it has a plural, as in "the religions" of the world. The reference is specific, to particular systems of religion, in certain times and places.

A third sense of the word "religion" in modern usage is related to the second sense, and it refers to specific religions but in an ideal way. To speak of "true religion" may indicate personal piety, but it may also denote the perfect system or ideal community, such as "true Christianity". It is usual for defenders of a religion to admit the failings of their own organisation, but to claim that if it were followed according to its highest ideals it would be perfect. Yet when they are discussing another religion, such as Islam, the tendency is to point out the faults of the existing religion and either to identify them with its ideals or else to ignore those ideals altogether.

A fourth sense of the term "religion" in modern usage is "religion in general". This is the whole complex of human activities which could be included under the heading of "religious". This can be applied to individual and to communal activities, and to historical as well as to modern times. The meaning of religion in general is affected by the other meanings, of personal piety and organised systems, and by both actual and ideal. One may recognise that religions differ from one another, but one may also try to look beyond the historical and organised to some essence of religion within them all. This is a particularly modern usage, and the search for "common ground" or "general principles" of "religion" has greatly increased since much more information has become available of the religions of Asia and Africa.

This fourth sense of "religion" can be used to distinguish religion from other human activities, such as art or economics. But this may result in the consideration of religion as simply one department of human life, traditional but decreasing, and less important than work or play. One may postulate then a further sense of "religion", and here I look beyond W. C. Smith, as the beliefs and attitudes of all human life. Religion, said an Anglican bishop, is what a man lives for; a man may live for whisky or dividends, for his wife and children, or for the New Jerusalem, and that is his religion.[1] I would emphasise more the consciously reflective attitudes of mankind, the search for unity and meaning, which at its highest levels develops into mysticism. In the widest sense religion can be regarded as the inspiration of all

1. F. R. Barry, **The Relevance of Christianity.**

00037

human life, especially if it is distinguished from specific organisations. To develop this viewpoint, it is necessary to say something about primitive religion and then about more advanced religion.

There has been much speculation about the early stages of religious life, because it was felt that if only we could discover the origins of religion we should find "the source of the religious". But the insuperable difficulty remains that our knowledge of the earliest millennia of distinctively human existence is extremely scanty. There are traces of religious or magical practice in the paintings of the caves of Lascaux and Altamira, but these date from a mere 13 000 years ago. Yet intelligent man, *homo sapiens*, is much older, up to 100 000 years, as distinct from any other form of man or ape. From older periods than Lascaux there are signs that the most primitive man believed in a survival after death. But what other beliefs he held, which have left no trace, cannot be stated. If he held, like many later peoples at a relatively "primitive" stage of culture, in the existence of a creator or "high god", of whom no images could be made, then necessarily there can be no signs of such a belief.

During the last hundred years or so, however, we have been regaled with many theories of the origins of religion, mostly from armchair anthropologists or social scientists. Tylor and Frazer, Marx and Freud, Lévy-Bruhl and Durkheim, put forward their theories of the origins of religion, from the example of supposedly primitive peoples of today. They pontificated upon the animism, or totemism, or pre-logical state, or social deity, of the Australians or Africans or Patagonians. Yet none of these authorities had ever visited the peoples about whose religion they wrote with great confidence, and there are still living theorists who build great structures upon reports of peoples that apparently they have not visited and of whose languages they are ignorant.

Modern field anthropologists have demolished many of the theories of the origins of religion. Consider, for example, the Freudian fairy story, for it is that and has not a shred of historical evidence to support it, of the origins of religion in the killing of the father by the sons, who then deified him and created the first god. The anthropologist Malinowski pointed out long ago that the theory of the dominant father, keeping all the females to himself, is a fantasy. So is the notion of the sons uniting to kill the father, and the totemistic feast is a dream, for tribes do not eat their totems. Moreover, since half of mankind is female and generally devoutly religious, this religion must have some other origin, and Freud never gave much development to his supposed Electra complex. The fact is that the Oedipus drama reflects the nineteenth century Viennese families and their neuroses, and it has nothing scientific to teach us about the origins of religion.

00038

But, like other theories, it had the hidden aim of disproving all religion, for if the origins of religion were shown to be ridiculous, so, it was thought, Christianity would be destroyed.

The methods and comparisons of armchair anthropologists are now seen to be inadequate, where they are not comic. In books with romantic titles like *The Golden Bough, The Mystic Rose,* or *How Natives Think,* bits of information were gathered from all over the world, and labelled "primitive", and therefore apparently "original" religion. The reports of explorers, traders, missionaries and administrators were ransacked for material, and the more childish or even obscene such titbits could be, the more they were welcomed. The natives of New Caledonia, for example, were said to have ridiculous customs and, so it would be assumed, therefore they had an absurd or outdated religion. Such methods were criticised by Malinowski, and he showed their folly by suggesting that "in old Caledonia when a native accidentally finds a whisky bottle by the road-side he empties it at one gulp, after which he proceeds immediately to look for another". [1]

Stern judgements must therefore be passed upon theories of the origins of religion in magic, superstition, taboo, pre-logical thought, fear of the dead, ideas of the soul, and so on. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, a very eminent modern social anthropologist, says this: "Laymen may not be aware that most of what has been written in the past, and with some assurance, and is still trotted out in colleges and universities, about animism, totemism, magic etc., has been shown to be erroneous or at least dubious". [2]

It is evident that we cannot get back to the origins of religion, which may be contemporary with the emergence of thinking man. And for long millennia of human life our knowledge of religious thought and activity is almost totally absent. The study even of modern so-called "primitives" is full of difficulties, demanding long years of study, a complete mastery of complex languages, and providing no guarantee that these peoples have no history, or that they are nearer to the origins of religion than we are ourselves. It would appear, therefore, to be much more useful to turn our attention to historical forms of religious life, in different countries and cultures, but with their respective history and literature, and to observe there the various aspects of religious phenomena.

The various methods that we have considered of defining religion have been characteristic of the Western world, with its knowledge of

---

1. B. Malinowski, **Crime and Custom in Savage Society**, 1926, p. 126.
2. E. E. Evans-Pritchard, **Theories of Primitive Religion**, 1965, p. 4.

00039

supposed religious entities such as Christianity or Judaism. We have suggested that religion can be seen as much wider than the organisation, and this becomes clearer when other religions are considered. Modern knowledge of the religions of the East has given rise to the use of terms such as Hinduism, Buddhism, Taoism and Confucianism. But these words are European inventions and they were not previously used by the people we call Hindus, Buddhists, and the like. So what they thought about their "religion" is important in discussing the nature of religion as a whole.

To return, for a moment, to classical Europe, the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* begins its article on "religion" by declaring that "no word in either Greek or Latin corresponds exactly to English 'religion' or 'religious'.[1] Similar words at first meant "usage" or "custom", and so they came to indicate "good, commendable, pious usage", and the feelings associated with it. And although there were words for taboo, consecrated, sacred, holy, rites and worship, yet a general sense of "customs" is prevalent and significant.

The same notion of religion as concerned with custom is widespread among illiterate or only partially literate peoples in the modern world, as case-studies of anthropology have shown. They have no terms either for their own religion, or for religion in general, and they justify their practices by saying "this is our custom". In similar fashion the people of Cornwall express their way of life and religion by saying, "this is what we belong to do".

An interesting example of a Nigerian attitude towards religion appeared when two censuses were taken. The people of Lagos were asked to state their religion on their census forms. Were they Christian, Muslim or Pagan? But to the inhabitants of Lagos "pagan" meant those naked tribesmen of the northern plateaus, whom Christian and Muslim administrators had tried in vain to clothe. Hence very few Lagosians returned themselves as "pagan". The census officials changed their terminology in the light of this experience when they came to the city of Ibadan. Now people were asked to declare whether they were Christians, Muslims or Animists. But they did not know what Animists were, even if they might be described in this way themselves. The census officials went round the houses, according to my information, interpreting the official forms and asking, "are you Christian, Muslim or Yoruba?" Yoruba was the name of the tribe, and it was a very appropriate description of those who followed the traditional "customs" of their people. Religion was not for them some separate organisation, a sect, or a particular ritual, but it was the whole way of life of the people.

---

1. Oxford Classical Dictionary, article "religion".

00040

The association of religion with tradition and custom becomes even more noticeable when we consider Hinduism, which is one of the greatest religious traditions and embraces many forms of both elementary and sophisticated religious life. Hinduism and Hindu are terms invented by foreigners and they were not used by Indians themselves before modern times. The name came from the river Indus, called Sindhu; it was made by the Persians into Hindu, and from them it passed to the Greeks and eventually to Western Europe and America. There is no Indian word for "religion" in our general sense. Nowadays the Hindus tend to use the Sanskrit word *dharma*, and they call their religion (or "Hinduism") *Sanatana Dharma. Sanatana* means "eternal", and it is significantly related to the Latin *senex*, "ancient". The word *dharma* has a great variety of meanings. Related to the Latin *firmus, dharma* is that which is established or "firm", a statute, ordinance or law. So it is usage, practice, customary ordinance, or prescribed conduct. From there it becomes order, right and justice; and thence it comes to indicate virtue, morality, religion, religious merit, and good works. To act according to *dharma* is to follow the right or the rule, to act justly or according to the nature of the thing.[1]

Dharma, however, is commonly used in a specific sense of one of the three major duties of a Hindu, the other two being pleasure or love *(kama)*, and material gain or wealth *(artha)*. *Dharma* here does include personal propriety and public law, temple ritual and caste obligations, but it does not normally refer to doctrine or religious truth, and it has not the wide senses of "religion as a whole".

Hindu attitudes may be further illustrated by a common definition of what makes a Hindu. It is said that one is a Hindu if one is born into a caste and accepts the authority of the Veda scriptures. It is a matter of birth first of all, and this can hardly be arranged, or at least not until reincarnation arranges things better in the next life on earth. Strictly speaking this meant that one could not be converted to "Hinduism", and that it was not a missionary religion. It was the faith and life of the whole people, their eternal traditions and customs. The acceptance of the Vedas follows on from this. Many Hindus have not read or are not able to recite any part of the Vedas, but these are traditional and therefore sacred. The Buddhists and Jains were indeed born into castes, not the priestly Brahmin class but the warrior-ruler class. But they rejected the Vedas, composed their own scriptures, and so they became, in orthodox Hindu eyes, heretics and opponents of the traditions and customs of the people.

Buddhism, though founded by a historical figure, was not called by this name by the followers of the Buddha. Hindu critics spoke of

1. N. Monier-Williams, **A Sanskrit—English Dictionary**, 1956 edition, article "dharma".

00041

the Bauddhas, from whence comes our Buddh*ists*, but the Buddhists themselves speak of following the path *(pada)* of the Buddha. The path is the doctrine, tradition and life which he taught, but which is eternal.

Buddhists also speak of *dharma (dhamma* in Pali) but, like the Hindus, they have no word for religion in general. Indeed *Dharma*, the law or doctrine or teaching or morality, is only one of the Three Jewels or Refuges of a Buddhist. It makes no mention of the Buddha as a model of conduct or object of devotion, and it does not mention the Order or Community *(Sangha)*. The Three Refuges, which southern (Theravada or Hinayana) Buddhists invoke every day, refer to all three: "I go to the Buddha for refuge, I go to the *Dharma* for refuge, I go to the *Sangha* for refuge".

A similar difficulty for the European interpreter has long been noted in the study of the traditional religions of China. A generation ago a standard work was W. E. Soothill's *Three Religions of China.*[1] Soothill was criticised for using a title that might suggest that there were three Chinese alternative organisations, three religions, to one of which a man might belong. But in China people would follow any or all of these "ways", according to the needs of life. However, while Soothill said that there were "three recognised religions or isms", he admitted that the word *chiao*, which was applied to Confucian, Taoist and Buddhist practices, "does not mean either religion or a church in our sense of those terms". Etymologically it meant "to imitate" or "to teach", and it indicated the teachings and traditions of the school in question.

Whether what Europeans called Confucian*ism* ever was a "religion" has long been disputed, and it is significant that the modern Chinese Government has not established a Confucian Association comparable to its control of a Buddhist Association, an Islamic Association, and a Taoist Association. "Confucian*ism*" used to be taken to include the veneration of the ancestors, the regular state rituals, and the moral and social teachings of Confucius and his successors. Much of this continues today. The dead are still revered, the Communist state has its authoritative teachings, and the great state assemblies, with their semi-divine head, do but extend the great ceremonies of the past. *Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.*

Buddhism in China has been called an "intruder", though it has been present for two thousand years and it has profoundly influenced art, architecture, and many aspects of life which the Chinese still

1. W. E. Soothill, **The Three Religions of China**, 1929, p. 14.

00042

treasure and preserve, with their great respect for the cultural achievements of their national past. But Buddhism was more clearly defined than the other "religions" because it had monasteries and specialised leaders. It is Taoism which has been called the "true religion" of China, the dragon whose tail can never be grasped, the outlook on life which persists despite persecution and social change. It is not an "ism", and it had no historical founder, for Lao Tzu is admitted to be a legendary figure. The word *Tao* means "the Way", and to follow *Tao* is to follow nature, the Way of Heaven and the Way of Earth. The respect for tradition, the naturalism, and the persistence of reverence for *Tao*, make its survival highly probable, and some writers have predicted a merging of Chinese Communism with Taoist and Confucian teachings in the whole Chinese way of life.[1]

It might be thought that the Western or Semitic religions would be different or clearer than those Eastern traditions which seem to encompass the whole of life in religion. In fact, the Old Testament has no word for "religion", and the nearest approach is the phrase "the fear of the Lord", which clearly refers to piety and behaviour, and not to belief or organisation. The Epistle of James, we have seen, speaks of "religion" *(threskeia)*, but this is the external aspect of observance or worship which, significantly, James interprets not as ritual or doctrine but care for the needy and avoidance of defilement by "the world". The early Christians were called followers of "the way", and although they were first named "Christians" at Antioch they accepted this description because they were trying to follow the way of Christ in a Jewish or Greek environment.

It is Islam that seems to offer an exception, what W. C. Smith calls "apparently the only religion in the world with a built-in name". Our titles of Mahometanism, Muhammadanism, Musulmanisme, Islamisme, are all inaccurate and disliked by Muslims, for they claim that they do not worship Muhammad and their religion is not centred upon him. The faith is called Islam in the Qur'an. "The true religion with God is *al-Islam*" (sura 3, 17/19). Islam means "submission", "surrender" to God, and a Muslim is a surrendered man. The word used here for "religion" is *din* and, not surprisingly, we find reference to "the chaos of meanings given by the Arabic lexicographers".[2] The chief of these meanings is a native Arabic word meaning "custom" and "usage". Once again we are back at tradition and custom, and a modern Muslim writer claims that Islam is not a religion but a challenge to all religion, and it is basically a "code of life" *(din)*.[3]

---

1. See R. C. Zaehner, "A New Buddha and New Tao", in **The Concise Encyclopedia of Living Faiths**, 1959, pp. 402 ff.
2. **Encyclopedia of Islam**, article "din".
3. G. A. Parvez, **Islam: A Challenge to Religion**, 1968.

00043

Din is used particularly of Islam, which is "the true religion with God", including faith but also almsgiving, fasting, pilgrimage, and right conduct. So Islam is the custom which surrenders to God and Muslims adopt such an age-long attitude as the "true religion".

Islam usefully illustrates the social side of religion, since Muslims are a worshipping community. There has been a strong tendency in the West to consider religion as a private matter, and so of no concern to social historians. Plotinus wrote of "the flight of the alone to the Alone", and a modern philosopher, Whitehead, declared that "religion is what the individual does with his own solitariness". Islam would strongly oppose such a notion, and private experience does not form more than a part of any religion.

In Islam the community or people *(umma)* perhaps began as a small or closed group, to which the word of God had been sent as to other *ummas* in the past. But after the establishment of a politico-religious community in Medina, and the conquest of Mecca and the rest of Arabia, the *umma* came to embrace all Arabs; and then all Muslims beyond that country. The community of the Arabs became the community of all Muslim people, and down the ages the brotherhood of Islam has been famous. The effect of this community upon legislation and political theory was great, and its details are far beyond our scope here. It must suffice to point out that while the Muslim communities originated as small and deviant groups, they were astonishingly successful and they became dominant traditions. Although the law in Islamic empires allowed for the existence of tolerated minorities *(dhimmis)*, people of the covenant or obligation, yet their very integration into the general system showed that Islamic law covered all possibilities. The Islamic *umma* was not a Church, in the sense of a restricted group, it was the whole people and in theory it should be co-extensive with the nation and the Islamic world. In modern times difficulties have arisen with the growth of nation-states, and struggles of political and religious leaders for an "Islamic state". So far only Turkey has become "secular" on the European model, and even there the masses are still largely Muslim.

Islam also provides examples of specialist groups within a religion or a society. The Sufi mystics are not only individuals but communities, and in some instances their retreat-houses have been fortified monasteries. The *marabout* was originally a member of a religious and military establishment *(ribat)* dedicated to the task of converting the infidels. But while Sufis took religious piety to a different or deeper level, they were not sects in teaching heretical doctrines, or Churches different from the general body of the community. Like the Buddhist order *(sangha)*, the monks served to inspire the laity by their life and devotion.

00044

I hope that these examples have helped to prepare the way for a consideration of "religion" in Europe. The coming of the Christian Church into classical or "pagan" Europe, we have seen, was at first the intrusion of an alien or distinctive body of committed believers in different doctrines and ways of living. In this it was much like the early Muslim *umma* and the Buddhist *sangha*. But just as these bodies rapidly took over, absorbed and transformed the original religions, so did Christianity. The persecutions of the first three centuries were caused by irreconcilable ideals and practices, and they were the birthpangs of a new society. The conversion of Constantine, however superficial as piety, gave official approval to the eventual establishment of Christianity as the religion of the state and people.

The origins of monasticism in Christianity, partly on Buddhist models, as a reaction against persecution and lax ways of living, saw the organisation of experts in piety, similar to such orders elsewhere, earlier Buddhist or later Sufi. These monastic orders were not divisive in a sectarian sense, and as Christianity took root in Europe to be Catholic or Orthodox was to follow the main traditions of the country or empire. As it was said later, *cuius regio, eius religio.*

Sociologists, like Weber and Troeltsch, have distinguished "sects" from "Churches" as minority groups of closed membership, groups of the elect which sought their own salvation and generally were not concerned with society as a whole. But it is interesting to observe how often sects became Churches, and took over the whole of society whenever they had the chance. The history of Protestant Europe is partly the story of the struggle of the reforming movements to establish themselves within and throughout society. This was successful in Lutheran Scandinavia and Anglican England, but unsuccessful in Catholic France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But continued struggles came from Nonconformist or Dissenting minorities, which claimed the right for further reform in doctrine and behaviour, and some freedom of conscience. As long as Lutheran or Anglican Churches remained dominant, the dissenters were sects. But in Scotland, for example, Presbyterian reform was established as the state religion and there was less scope for Nonconformists than obtained in England.

Christianity has given a great deal of emphasis to organisation, and this has proved both a strength and a weakness. Perhaps as an inheritance from the Roman Empire it is Western Christianity, more than Eastern Orthodoxy, that has developed either a monolithic organisation or, by reaction, religious sectarianism. In the past there was much development of the forms of the Catholic or sectarian organisations, but still today there is preoccupation with ecumenical unification, and super-organisations like the World Council of Chur-

00045

ches, to such an extent that personal piety and traditional customs may have been neglected.

It might appear that in modern nation-states the Churches have reverted to their earlier role of minority organisations, since in many European countries most people do not attend church regularly. So it is said that we are "secularised", and that there is a great division between "sacred and secular", or "religious and profane". If this is true, it appears to be a new phenomenon. Anthropologists generally say that primitive peoples make no distinction between sacred and secular. And we have seen that in most advanced cultures "religion" is virtually identified with the way of life, or the ideal traditions, of the society. It is true that there are many sacred places in different religions, what Mircea Eliade has called places of "hierophany" or "kratophany", where spiritual power has revealed itself. Similarly, we have seen, there are special experts in religion, monks and nuns, mystics and magicians. But these special places and people are not apart from the religion as a whole, and they express simply heightened forms of its activity.

In the conflicting ideologies of today, however, there is said to be "secularism". But Professor David Martin, an eminent sociologist, argues against the use of the word "secularisation" for today. This process has taken place, he claims, throughout the history of religion. Each new adaptation of thought has been viewed by upholders of the *status quo* as a secularising influence. Pagan Rome would have viewed Cynicism, Christianity and the Mysteries as all forms of secularising influence.

Secularism today may yet be taken as a rejection of a state or dominant religion, or a rejection of belief in God. But the rejection of an established Church does not mean that the state necessarily has no religious assumptions, especially in view of the wider concept of religion, as tradition or way of life, which we have been suggesting. Indeed state orthodoxy has rapidly been re-established in modern one-party states, e.g. Russia and China. In a more subtle manner, the moral assumptions of most Western European and American countries are still "religious", and even Christian, whether consciously so or not. Dr Sten Rodhe has pointed out that in Sweden the Marxists, with their own ideology, have accused the state of lack of neutrality. They declare that the state is "liberal", a tradition which comes from the Enlightenment, and eventually from Christianity. Swedish schools "have to accept that they are not objective and neutral, but that they fight for some values. The values are inherited from the Christian tradition".[1] The same situation is found in other countries, and if the

1. S. Rodhe, "The Teaching of Religions", in **Teaching about Religions**, ed. G. Parrinder, 1971, p. 98.

00046

Christian traditional values are rejected then some others will be adopted. These other values cannot be "neutral", but they may be Marxist or even Buddhist.

Modern secularism is also said to reject belief in God. For many Christian writers, belief in God is an integral part of "religion", indeed it is both its definition and its origin, since it has been claimed that the earliest man believed in a supreme or creator God. This latter statement cannot be proved, it is a mere theory, and we have seen that very little can be said about the origins or early millennia of religious life. But not even all advanced religions have taught the more usual forms of belief in God. A notorious example is Buddhism, closely followed by philosophical Taoism. The Buddha seems to have ignored Hindu philosophical teaching about Brahma, the neuter divine, and he refused to speculate about the origins and creation of the world. If the universe is eternal, moving in great cycles, then it would seem that no transcendental creator is needed, or at least that a cosmological argument would not prove the existence of God.

What Buddhism does demonstrate clearly is the need of man for what may be called, if it is not a personal God, a "transcendental reference". This is close to the broader dictionary definition of God, noted at the beginning: "recognition on the part of man of some higher unseen power... entitled to obedience, reverence and worship". On this definition Buddhism rapidly became a religion. A focal object of worship, or a higher unseen power, became necessary. Buddhism at an early date developed such adoration of the Buddha, as "Teacher of gods and men", that he was the focus of deeply religious sentiments. He embodied the eternal *dharma*, and appeared as the supernormal power entitled to worship. In northern Mahayana Buddhism this tendency developed even more strongly, with countless objects of worship.

Parallels with the modern world are not hard to find. So-called secularists, who reject belief in a transcendental Deity, or traditional ways of teaching about God, may be intent on discovering the truth of human nature and society, and the ultimate reality which gives meaning and purpose to our existence. But there is more than this. For in formal atheisms, in Russia and China, there have appeared powerful forms of "transcendental reference" which demand obedience and kinds of worship. The pictures of Stalin in every Soviet home in his heyday were comparable to the icons of Orthodoxy, and the Little Red Book of Chairman Mao is revered like the Bible and the Qur'an in other cultures, while people weep in his presence and call him the "never-setting red Sun".

"Secularism" today might be viewed as an endeavour of adaptation to new social and technical conditions, a rival explanation to the

00047

Christian doctrine of human life. But it becomes more serious when it appears to be a rival religion, with its own supernormal objects of devotion. How astonished Karl Marx, himself almost deified, would be to find that in 1972 the Communist states have virtually new religions. They have all the trappings of sacred and infallible scriptures, divinised leaders, cult of the dead, pilgrimages, mass assemblies, "Church" orthodoxy, indoctrination of the young, and eschatology.

Similarly the Positivists of the last century would be astounded at the ease with which, in more liberal societies, young people today flock after new dogmas and spiritual authority. There is a fashion in the Western world for Yoga, Zen, Sufism, Hare Krishna, Subud, theosophy, and many other forms of Eastern spirituality. Indeed, the close communications of the modern world are responsible for the much greater knowledge of Eastern religions in the West, as of Christianity in the East, and we are moving towards a more multi-religious society.

The supposed conflict of "sacred" and "secular" obscures the real disagreement, which is between "religious" experts, if one takes religious in the broad sense of both ideology and way of life. It also confuses this disagreement with the minority position of the Church in some countries. Great seminal thinkers of modern times, such as Darwin, Marx and Freud, to name but three outstanding men in different fields, have all applied their minds to problems of human life: biological, economic or psychological. How far their theories, or theories developed from their inspiration, can be adopted in useful ways, or absorbed by older forms of religious thought, forms one of our great problems. But it is the same with every innovation.

Darwinist evolutionism, suitably modified, has been accepted by most Christians and it has become one of the most pervasive beliefs of modern times, even among those who have never read a word of Darwin. Freudianism has thrown great light upon the workings of the human mind, and it has been influential even when the Oedipus-complex theory is rejected except by devout Freudians, to whom every word of the divinised master is infallible. But both Darwinism and Freudianism can be modified and fitted into the traditional pattern of Christian thought and life.

Marxism remains the most serious challenge, both to belief and to behaviour. It is potent among thousands of millions of human beings, to whom it is more than a theory and is a faith and way of life. In the Soviet Union, Marxism is the established belief, although the inner "church" of party members numbers only about nine million out of some two hundred million citizens. Here the "secularising sects" may be the older Churches, Orthodox, Catholic, Baptist, Islamic, and the

00048

rest. But it is difficult to envisage such an agreement between the Communist Party and the Christian Churches, as has been suggested between Maoism and Taoism, and the conflict will no doubt long remain. Yet a betting man might place long odds on that faith which expresses an age-old tradition and which looks beyond the purely economic needs of man.

The central problem of the Western world is the harmonisation of different doctrines: traditional Christian, Marxist, oriental. It is not impossible that Christian thought can accommodate elements from these other diverse sources, for such an adaptation has happened before, but the outcome is by no means certain.

There remain two major concerns which I wish to sketch, and they are "religious" in different ways. The first concerns the organisational aspect of religion, which we have noted as particularly developed in Christianity. Professor Genicot has remarked that the teaching of history has moved away from political history, of battles and kings and events, to a less clearly defined history. If this movement is towards a history of civilisation as a whole, it would demand an immense coverage of all the progress and discoveries of mankind. But even here attention may be narrowly directed towards social or scientific history, in economic and mass movements, at the expense of individual achievements and spiritual interests.

First, it may be suggested that there is need for religious history as such. After all, music and literature, for example, do not find much place in history books, whether they deal with battles or with class struggles. But there are specific courses in literature, music and art, and similarly there should be courses in religious activity and thinking. The particular achievements of the organised Christian Churches have been so important at many periods of European and world history, that to omit them even as historical events would produce an incomplete and unbalanced history. One may instance the conversion of Constantine, the Crusades, the Reformation, and the missionary movements. Further, the activities of the Papacy in Western Europe, or of the Nonconformist Churches in Europe and America, are essential for an understanding of both order and liberty in our history. And such activities are not narrowly the concern of "church history", or of theological seminaries, but of history as a whole.

Moreover, an understanding of the teachings of outstanding religious thinkers, or spiritual experts, is essential. To speak of religion simply as tradition, the way or manners of life of the elders, such as the Hindu way of life or the American way of life, may suggest that religious thought is simply past tradition. This may obscure the role of the constant succession, in all cultures, of the individual geniuses

00049

who have promulgated new or revised doctrines by which masses of people have come to be guided. Simply as a historical figure, the religious or philosophical expert may be remembered better than the political or social leaders of his time. Socrates, Confucius, Gautama and Muhammed, are all better known than the various monarchs or petty chiefs of their time. But to mention them merely as historical, without some attention to their revolutionary teachings, would be to pay them a poor compliment indeed.

The doctrines, as well as the organisation and the history of Churches or communities, deserve attention in education. Where there are developed schemes of religious education, given in all state schools, as in Scandinavia and Great Britain, then the study of a religion can be given as a whole way of life. Many problems arise, particularly in the relationship of courses in religious knowledge to those of general studies and civic affairs, which are too numerous to consider here, and I can only refer again to Sten Rodhe's important chapter in *Teaching about Religions*.[1]

The second major concern, with which I must close, is to refer to the "spiritual" life and thought of the ordinary believer. Socrates and Muhammad, Aquinas and Frazer, reveal that man is more than a machine. In addition to being "economic man", he is also "spiritual man". Christians, Jews and Muslims spend time, regularly or occasionally, at prayer, and this is such an ancient and widespread human activity that it deserves study. Buddhists and many Hindus may meditate more than pray, though often at greater length. Buildings are erected for communal or individual devotions, and these are famous for their splendid architecture. Churches and mosques, temples and pagodas, are some of the most beautiful buildings in the world, and they are of great importance for the history of culture. Modern Marxist states have also erected impressive buildings, and shrines for the veneration of their divinised heroes.

But prayer or meditation, like belief in God or the Buddha, does not depend solely upon the availability of a public building. Indeed in the early centuries it was claimed by Christian apologists that they had no temples and no altars. Yet their spiritual life was intense, both individual and communal. It is this spiritual life which is the concern of religion, the understanding of ultimate reality and living in harmony with it.

Religion, in the view of Marx, was an "opiate", a drug to enable man to bear the injustices of life and an escape into the realm of fantasy. But it was held that when the perfect state was established

1. S. Rodhe, op. cit.

00050

on earth men would no longer need such fantasies. This has not been proved true, for man needs fantasy and lives by his imagination. However, both Marxism and modern physical science, which have been taken as the principal challengers to traditional Christian teaching, have taught the value of the material world even if they have underestimated the spiritual side of man. A Christian synthesis is needed, such as that which was suggested by Teilhard de Chardin, in which the whole dynamism of matter and flesh can be synthesised with the spirit.

The place of religion, we have tried to show, is in the whole of life. It is not simply organisations, or even doctrine, but following those traditions of conduct which have been inspired by religious experts. For the early Christian it was "the way", set out by "the author and perfecter of our faith".

00051

SUMMARY OF THE CASE-STUDY ON "RELIGION IN THE HISTORY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY"

BY

PROFESSOR H. I. MARROU, PARIS

00052

The case of Classical Antiquity is ideal for illustrating the general theme of this conference, as presented by Professor Parrinder. Any discussion, even on an elementary pedagogical level, of the history of ancient Greece or Rome which passes over, minimises or rules out its religious aspects is guilty of that cardinal sin against which every historian must set his face, namely anachronism.

No educated person contests the grandeur of Classical Antiquity, which is the direct ancestor and, via the various Renaissances, the mainspring of our Western civilisation, or more correctly, since this is in process of extending across the entire planet, of modern civilisation; the ancients were, aspired to be, and considered themselves, religious beings. One has only to refer to a book which is now more than a century old, that of Fustel de Coulanges, *La Cité antique* (1864): progress in scholarship has not cast doubt on the fundamental notion behind this book, namely that religious beliefs and rites penetrate and shape the whole of existence and all phases of life. From the cradle to the grave, each stage of life was impregnated with a religious flavour; as regards the last stage, the significance of the funerary cults, springing from the belief in an after-life and evidenced by a plethora of monuments and institutions, is well known. The sacred was almost obsessively present in daily life, expressing itself in practices carrying a residue of "primitivism" (the attention given to omens and prodigies reflects in an elementary way the desire to respect the will of the gods) and on a higher level, in an ethical outlook typified by the avoidance of hubris, or the sin of overlooking one's human condition, of forgetting that the mortal must think in mortal terms, and of falling from that state of being at peace with the gods, *pax deorum*. Similarly, religion is present at all levels of public life: in both Greece and Rome the family was held together by the existence and practice of a household or domestic religion. Thus the characteristic feature of ancient civilisation emerges, namely that participation in a social group involves participation in the same religion. This phenomenon was so widespread that any quasi-revolutionary establishment of new structures necessarily implied the institution of new rites and new cults designed to give concrete form to their unity, as with the ten tribes artificially created in Athens by the democratic reform of

00053

Cleisthenes. In so far as, prior to the establishment of the great Hellenistic monarchies and the Roman Empire, Aristotle's famous definition: "Man is a political animal" (i.e. more precisely that his specific characteristic is that of living grouped into cities, *kata poleis*) may be said to be true, participation in the religious rites of the city and veneration of its patron divinities was an essential aspect of "political" life (in the modern sense) and of human life in general, since for the Ancients exclusion from the city meant loss of their humanity. Hence the oath of the Athenian *epheboi* (induction into the *ephebeia* signified the passage into adult life): "I will fight for the national religion . . . , I will observe the rites of my fathers". The calendar was made up of the great religious festivals: similarly international relations had their religious side: sacrifices and oaths on the name of the gods took place on the declaration of war and the conclusion of peace treaties or alliances. This is true both of Rome as of the Greek cities: Roman patriotism was based on a demanding form of piety, since the greatness of Rome was seen to be linked to a deep devotion to the gods protecting it.

All this would have to be taught, since it is true, even if ancient civilisation were merely one among others, being of no more than anthropological interest as it were; but if Greece and Rome continue to occupy the important place in our culture and thus in our education which is theirs by right, despite contrary opinions or intentions, it is because their civilisation was not simply one among others and because it was a great civilisation; the Romans and Greeks are not only our direct ancestors, they were great ancestors; we have inherited from them a wealth of infinitely precious cultural values, which we have not abandoned and indeed cannot abandon. Hence it should be stressed that the religious component, which thoroughly impregnated all aspects of life in antiquity, was no less present in the whole gamut of cultural life.

Thus in the first place, sport in education and life generally is an activity which expresses the idea of the balance and harmonious perfection of the human being: the *gymnasion*, the typical educational institution of Ancient Greece, was placed under the protection of Hermes (the existence of such *gymnasia* has recently been revealed by the Ai-Khanoun excavations on the Afghanistan and Tadjikistan border, in the extreme north-east sector of Greek colonial penetration in central Asia). Further, religious festivals gave birth to the great Panhellenic Games at Olympia, Delphi etc., and the Roman Games of the circus or amphitheatre reveal the same religious characteristics.

Homer remains the greatest poet of all time, one who can be read and re-read with the same elation; as Herodotus has already pointed out, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, both of whose initial lines

00054

contain an invocation to the goddess, together with the poems of Hesiod, were for the Greeks the equivalent of the Bible for Jews or Christians. Further, the "games" or "competitions" (it is difficult to translate the Greek word *agones*) held at the great religious festivals, together with athletics or horse-racing, always included the so-called "musical" games. Music as such has unfortunately entirely disappeared from our sources, unlike poetry, whether lyric or dramatic, the latter being closely linked to religion, at least originally: tragedy and comedy both sprang from festivals devoted to the cult of Dionysos.

This also holds for the plastic arts: from the Parthenon of Athens to the Pantheon of Rome, the finest monuments of ancient architecture were temples, just as the finest statues represented either divinities or devotees, immortalising an offering made in the sanctuary near which they were erected.

Even what might be called the most modern or the most rational aspects of ancient culture reveal a close link with this religious conception of life. Medicine was the first experimental science in the current sense of the term, emerging in antiquity with the Hippocratic school, but since Hippocrates was a member of the Asclepiades family, the school was inseparable from the Asclepios sanctuary in Cos. Similarly, the philosophical schools, to be able to exist and survive as institutions, took the form of *thiasoi* or religious brotherhoods, devoted to the cult of the Muses and their founder who had taken on heroic dimensions: although there is very little information extant on the Pythagorean Brotherhood, this phenomenon is well attested for the Academy of Plato and the Lyceum of Aristotle. Even the Academy of Epicurus, known for his militant atheism, must have been cast in the same mould.

The over-secularisation of these ancestors of modern science and reflection would be untrue to history. I may conclude with a suggestion of an educational nature: no matter how elementary or how summary may be the initiation of our youth to this prestigious past, classical antiquity should never be given a static presentation. We have followed the development over more than one thousand years (from the seventh or sixth century *B.C.* to the third or fourth *A.D.*) of this dynamic series of historical phenomena, which, of course, underwent internal differentiation and transformation; there were several stages in the development of Classical Antiquity. In the first place one may distinguish the age of the city-state (in Greece until the Macedonian Conquest, and in Rome up until the crisis at the conclusion of the second Punic war and the assimilation of Hellenistic culture), which was a period of intense religiosity; the sacred is omnipresent—one need only think of the beginning of Plato's *Phaedrus:* the cool water of the Illissos, the shade of the plane tree, the coolness of the wind, and the

00055

song of the cicadas, are all considered sacred. Later comes the crisis of the Hellenistic period: the defeat of the city-state under the Macedonian onslaught implied the abandonment of the city gods who had been shown to be impotent, and a certain degradation of the very notion of divinity, which may explain the development of the Emperor cult and the tendency towards heroisation with its misuse of language ("He is divine" rather than "He is handsome"!). This period of relative unbelief, however, was succeeded in late antiquity by an increasing trend towards what must be considered a new or second "religiosity". Life and thought in antiquity, far from undergoing a progressive desacralisation, were in fact to rediscover religion, as is clearly shown by the disappearance of the sceptical or atheistical tendencies represented by Epicureanism and the New Academy, coupled with the growth of dogmatic schools of thought which were impregnated with this new religious sense of existence, such as with middle and neo-Platonism. No historian worthy of the name could now consider, as did the empiricist Gibbon, the greatness of a thinker such as Plotinus or the triumph of Christianity as symptomatic of decadence and the rise of barbarianism.

00056

SUMMARY OF THE CASE-STUDY
ON
"RELIGION AND THE RISORGIMENTO"

BY

PROFESSOR F. VALSECCHI, ROME

00057

The problem of the relationship between religion and the Risorgimento occupies a special place in the political and religious history of 19th century Europe. The first half of the century saw the birth and development of liberal Catholicism, the movement which endeavoured to reconcile the Catholic tradition with the spirit of the age—that national and liberal spirit which characterised the new era. Romanticism and the romantic return to faith had exalted the role of Christianity as the veritable mainspring of European civilisation; its dream was the transformation of Europe through a great new impulsion to be found in the Christian religion. Catholicism could retrieve its lost leadership of world civilisation, looking to the future without dismissing the past—more, speaking to it in the name of the past. By infusing new life into old structures and by freeing itself from its identification with the old order, Catholicism could ally itself with the new political forces.

In the great European countries, it was an intellectual movement with a strongly élitist flavour: one has only to recall the names of Görres and Döllinger in Germany and of Manning, Newman and Pusey in England. In France the phenomenon took on remarkable proportions: the doctrines of Montalembert and Lamennais, the preaching of Lacordaire and Dupanloup, struck to the very heart of public opinion.

In Italy liberal Catholicism went beyond a simple current of public opinion—it became a great political movement extending across the entire nation and even identified for a time with the Risorgimento itself.

The term Risorgimento (resurgence, rebirth) has a civil and ethical import as well as a political significance. It implies a recall to the greatness of the past and a reminder of the bankruptcy of the present; a return to history and the discovery within history of the deepest roots of national individuality; lastly it implies, in accordance with the religious spirit of romanticism, a recall to faith. One seeks in the faith — the Catholic faith which has stamped the Italian soul—the deepest spiritual roots of the Italian nation. Even more, it is to the Catholic Church, according to the new school of history which claims the role of interpreter of the spirit of the Risorgimento, that the Italian

00058

nation owes its very existence, to the Catholic Church which in the Middle Ages constituted a bulwark against the barbarians: it was the Catholic Church which defended the independence of the country side by side with the communes, the free cities of Italy, against the Germanic Holy Roman Empire.

The new historical school called itself "neo-Guelph", seeing in the Guelph tradition the most authentic national tradition, as opposed to the Ghibelline and imperial ideology which symbolised foreign domination and German hegemony. Hence for Italy the return to Catholicism was a return to herself: Catholicism was the true source of her inner renewal and it was only by drawing on this source that Italy would be able to regain her place in European civilisation. The rebirth of Italy, the Risorgimento, lay in the alliance of the national spirit and the religious spirit; it was to be found in alliance with the Catholic Church, a Church renewed in function of the new era and capable of assuming the task thus imposed on it.

On the theoretical level, liberal Catholicism in Italy was expounded by thinkers such as Romagnosi and Rosmini, who occupy an outstanding place in the history of Italian philosophy. But the real theorist of the neo-Guelph movement is Vincenzo Gioberti. For him philosophy becomes an element in the fight for the political and moral revival of Italy—a weapon in the battle of the Risorgimento. Its aim is to arouse the consciences of Italians by appealing to their faith.

For him the nation is a spiritual entity, with its personality, its individuality, and its own particular "genius". Only those peoples endowed with this secret force are called to play a role in this history of humanity, to transmit "the torch of civilisation". The "genius" of Italy is expressed in her own history, by her "supremacy" in all matters of the mind, in the arts as well as the sciences. But her real supremacy has a deeper source: her religious calling. Italy is the first daughter of the Church, she dwells within the bosom of the Church and guards it within her breast. Rome, the heart of Italy, is the very heart of the Church. With and through Rome the Italian people are the Levites of Christianity, the keepers of the Temple. The renewal of Italy can only take place with and through Rome. The Church of Rome must be at the head of the Italian national movement, endowing it with the impulse of faith and the consciousness of its mission of raising Italy to nationhood and returning her to her rightful place in the progress of civilisation. Rome must be the corner stone of the new Italian edifice, the centre and symbol of a new independent and united Italy: united not by the cumbersome bonds of an abstract and artificial unity but by the flexible and stable bonds of fraternal solidarity, within a federation which would recognise its natural head in the Roman Pontiff.

00059

Gioberti was the prophet of the neo-Guelph myth. His book, whose title rang out like a challenge, *Il primato morale e civile degli Italiani*, the moral and civic supremacy of the Italians, created a profound sensation throughout the peninsular. It gave Italians a battle cry which flattered their pride and appealed to their most intimate feelings. It appeared on the eve of the 1848 revolution, at the precise moment when that atmosphere of messianic expectancy which precedes the great watersheds of history held sway. When Pius IX, on his accession to the pontifical throne, pronounced the famous words "Great God, bless Italy", it seemed that the dream would become reality. The image of the Pope became the symbol of the alliance between Nation and Church. With the thrust of this religious feeling, the beginnings of the revolution took on the fervour of a crusade: a wave of mysticism seemed to overwhelm the nation.

On contact with reality the neo-Guelph myth soon dissipated like a mirage. Gioberti's learned synthesis between the past and the present, his passionate endeavour to reconcile faith and nation, freedom and conservation, when tested by the facts stood convicted of abstraction and contradiction: the Church could not fulfil a task foreign to its religious calling without denying itself. It could not take up the cause of a nation without betraying its universal character. The war between Sardinia and Austria gave a concrete formulation to the problem: the Supreme Pontiff could not interfere in a quarrel between two states. Further, the Italian national movement went its own way, developing along lines which were not always compatible with papal support. The Church could not launch itself into an adventure whose character and conclusion were unforeseeable.

The neo-Guelph myth of a moral and religious rebirth which, by combining national spirit with Catholic tradition, dreamed of giving a new impulse to the history of Italy, came down to a brief episode in the Risorgimento, one which was rapidly outstripped by events.

However, the neo-Guelph movement represents a unique attempt in Europe to translate the doctrine of liberal Catholicism into political terms, and in this sense it takes on a particular value and significance in the political and spiritual development of the century.

00060

SUMMARY OF THE CASE-STUDY ON "THE INFLUENCE OF THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES ON SOCIETY IN GERMANY SINCE 1945"

BY

PROFESSOR MARTIN BRECHT, TÜBINGEN

00061

1. Religion has influenced history not only in the past, but still does so today. As a factor in contemporary history, religion attains immediate significance in history teaching. The essence of religion also becomes evident in the study of the religious contribution to contemporary history. The role of the Protestant Churches in post-war Germany offers an instructive example of this.

2. First of all, it must be pointed out that the Protestant Churches constitute a group within German society. In this group, the conditions and the consciousness of society are reflected and represented, as well as its transformations. This can be shown in many examples, e.g. the problem of different opinions in society, emancipatory tendencies, the position of women in society, a society influenced by leisure time etc. In short, the Protestant Churches are an interesting model of a social group.

3. In a changing society, the Protestant Churches have often supported conservative tendencies and stabilised prevailing circumstances. This derives in part from a patriarchal structure and from the inherited privileged status of the Churches within society.

In matters of education, the Protestant Churches attempted to maintain the Christian tradition. In cultural matters, they guarded against the decay of value systems and *mores*. The Churches are interested in the protection of such social institutions as marriage, family, and property. In this connection, we also have to mention the anti-communist attitude of the Churches. Not infrequently, the Churches and their claims were rejected by society as a whole and had to accept new situations. The conservative contribution of the Churches to the development of society is neither completely negative nor positive. Without a doubt, developments which were later acknowledged as necessary by the Churches were sometimes delayed. The Churches, however, often contributed to circumspection in developments with the result that great sections of society were not sorely tried by new situations and that demonstrated values were not discarded without due examination.

00062

4. The events during the Third Reich sharpened the Protestant Churches' sense of responsible consciousness of political and social questions. As I mentioned, the voice of the Churches, however, was not always heard. There have been many events since the second world war, in which the attitude of the Churches was ineffective in the long run, e.g. the appeals on German reunification, the demand for a peace treaty, and the appeal against rearmament. These appeals died away nearly unheard. As did almost no other group, the Protestant Churches strove to preserve unity between Western and Eastern Germany, although ultimately without success. Where important group-interests are at stake, in this case those of international groups, the will of the Churches is weak and ineffective. Political and social realities have also often made it impossible for the Protestant Churches to adopt a unified position within themselves.

5. In spite of weakness and failure, however, the Protestant Churches succeeded in many cases in giving a specific and constructive contribution to society. New institutions were founded, e.g. the *Evangelische Kirchentage* and the *Evangelische Akademien,* which made it possible to discuss conflicts concerning society as a whole and to relieve tensions within society (e.g. tensions between workers and employers), to overcome taboos, and to ask urgent questions (e.g. the German relations with Israel). Here, on the one hand, a responsible awareness of broader groups was developed. On the other hand, it was useful for society as a whole, that existing tensions should be at least mitigated. It must also be admitted that, through this conduct, the Churches also supported the *status quo.*

6. In some urgent questions, the Protestant Churches confronted society with very concrete statements based on decidedly Christian motives. In the so-called *Stuttgarter Schuldbekenntnis* (admission of guilt) of autumn 1945, they admitted the contributory negligence of the Protestant Churches with regard to the crimes of National Socialism. By this, they avoided the suppression of a not yet mastered past. The *Ostdenkschrift* (the manifesto concerning the relations of Germany with the Eastern European countries) expressed readiness to accept the post-war frontiers between Germany and Poland and so furthered this attitude. This was to be a significant contribution to peace and reconciliation. This manifesto prepared the way for the treaties between the Federal Republic of Germany and Russia and Poland. Every time, such initiatives came from only a small group within the Churches, and they always met with sharp protests even within the Churches. Nevertheless, these proposals with a Christian character could not be ignored and had immediate political effect. It must be said that the Protestant Churches were not always able to speak in such a clear manner. The manifestos of the Churches on property and participation were insufficiently concrete. The manifesto

00063

on problems of sexuality could often only state differing viewpoints. Nevertheless, the manifestos show that there is a chance for the Churches to help society from a Christian position.

7. Contemporary German history as a whole shows something of the essence and the possibilities of Churches. The Churches can be nothing more than a group within society, often a reflection of society in miniature. Because of their tradition, the Churches' attitude and contribution to society will often be a conservative one. The actions of the Churches often are weak, divided and inconsistent. Nevertheless, the Churches do make constructive contributions to the development of society. Not least among these is the way in which small Christian groups can incite society to overcome the past and to find new solutions and possibilities.

00064

SUMMARY OF THE CASE-STUDY ON "THE INFLUENCE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH ON SOCIETY IN GERMANY SINCE 1945"

BY

PROFESSOR CONRAD REPGEN

AND DR KLAUS GOTTO, BONN

00065

The influence of the Church on state and society has not been a smooth and even process since 1945. It may be useful to sub-divide the entire period into different parts, as follows:

1. The period 1945–49 (from the end of the war to the promulgation of the Basic Law);

2. The period 1949–62/63 (from the establishment of the Federal Republic to the end of the "Adenauer Era" and the beginning of the Vatican Council);

3. The period 1962/63–1967/68 (attempts to put the decisions of the Vatican Council into effect and to give a new orientation to the relationship between Church and State);

4. The period from 1967 until today.

In decribing these four periods and weighing up the events they cover we must proceed from the fact that the influence of the Church among the public was essentially determined by its public position and prestige. The importance of outstanding personalities is not to be underrated, but it was only on the basis and against the background of the prestige of the Church as a whole that their work achieved the effects it did. The theological discussion on the concept of the Church as such is disregarded in this study, although it will probably be recognised as the source of all the Church's internal uncertainties by future historians studying the intellectual currents of our time.

1. *From 1945 to 1949*

The year 1945 was not "zero hour" for the Church; it did not mean an entirely new basic attitude and hence a new relationship with the world and with politics. The end of the war brought two things for the Church: first, liberation from its nightmare struggle, a liberation which was felt as a victory of the Christian religion, with its humanitarian ideas and adherence to natural law, over barbarism; secondly, the claim and the challenge to take part, if only in a subsidiary capacity,

00066

in the discharge of certain political functions and in the political shaping of public life. This claim was based on the prestige—undisputed among the public in general-of the Church as an unshaken rock, as the most solid and largest bastion of resistance against National Socialism.

In the years after the collapse, the Church and its followers were faced with a multitude of tasks which had to be carried out against a background of ruin and of vast sociological and demographic changes (the refugee problem, migrations between town and country). Among these tasks were the reorganisation and revival of Church and Catholicism; coping with the backlog of ministrations (for example, confirmations) occasioned by welfare services to relieve the worst cases of material distress and, as a necessary direct political task, the ordering of the relationship with the new state which was being formed in Germany. The welfare tasks were successfully accomplished and the Church experienced a revival such as it had not known for a long time. Between 1946 and 1950, the number of Easter communions, which at its peak in 1935 had stood at 61.7 % of all Catholics and had then dropped sharply, rose from 48.8 % to 54.2 %, a figure which has not again been reached since. At the same time the attempt was made to revive the Church's organisational structure, which had largely been destroyed after 1933. This was only partially achieved, owing to the restrictions imposed by the occupation regime, the numerous war casualties and the demands made on the faithful for the relief of the most immediate distress. Thanks to the experience of the National Socialist regime of terror, conditions were favourable for a new ordering of the relationship with the state. In the constitutions of the *Länder* (for example in Bremen and Bavaria), the demands of the Church, such as recognition as a corporate body in public law, denominational schools, parental rights, were met in varying degrees. As regards Church influence in the Parliamentary Council (1948—49) and hence on the Basic Law (1949), the so-called *Kultusartikeln* or "religious clauses" concerning the relationship between Church and State occupied first place where Church interests were concerned; they were, however, not treated separately but combined with the general political demands relating to certain human rights with primacy over the state and to democratic majority decisions. The constitution of the state as a democracy was not at issue. Democracy in the active, not the passive sense, was approved and adapted.

The Basic Law, viewed from the angle of the Church, brought the following results: success was achieved in having the name of God invoked in the Preamble; general natural and human rights, special protection for marriage and family and the recognition, in principle, of religious instruction at public schools were included; the incorporation of the Weimar clauses on the Church and of the treaty provision

00067

indirectly confirming the *Reichconcordat* amounted to an acceptable compromise, while on the negative side were the inclusions of the "Bremen clause" and the failure to recognise parental rights.

Another very important decision taken by the Church in those years was its approval of the establishment of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and the Christian Social Union (CSU), because it thus indicated its willingness to abandon the idea that the only possible representative of its interests was a *de facto* Catholic denominational organisation such as the Centre Party. This was the sign of a non-theological, practical ecumenism whose purpose was to establish an interdenominational majority party not reflecting an exclusively Catholic philosophy.

The opportunity for far-reaching influence on state and society after 1945 did not—despite many appeals, suggestions and programmes—lead to a "total reform" or a "social mission" such as was demanded by many. A Church which had survived intact as a people's Church and an official Church saw as its prime task that of contributing tangibly to reconstruction and exerting a real influence on politics and constitutional law.

2. *From 1949 to 1962/63*

The years of the "Adenauer Era" were marked by a far-reaching consensus around the policies of the Catholic Chancellor. The basic principle, which had already been apparent before the foundation of the Federal Republic, was now pursued with redoubled effort and put into practice: with identification of the Catholic part of the population with the concept of a freedom-loving democratic order politically anchored in the West.

From the point of view of domestic policy, this meant acceptance of and support for a democracy upholding its values and capable of defending itself (fundamental rights are directly valid law because they are natural rights; parties are upholders of parliamentary democracy, provided that they do not intend to destroy it; there must be constitutional jurisdiction), support in the achievement of a socially orientated state respecting constitutional rights. In as much as the CDU and the CSU are not exclusively denominational parties, no strict proof exists of direct Catholic political initiatives, but it may be affirmed that the bulk of all Catholic legislative proposals concerned family and social policy (*inter alia:* the sharing of burdens, housing, youth welfare, the Social Assistance Act, family legislation, adjustable pension benefits). Catholic participation in policy-making on constitutional and legal matters, too, increased considerably.

00068

For the first time in its history, political Catholicism was a major motive force not only in its traditional sphere of domestic policy, but also in foreign policy. Adenauer's European policy, which went beyond the concepts of a purely national state, was conducted and supported to the same essential extent by the Catholic part of the population and by Catholic politicians as was defence against Soviet Communist attempts at penetration. The Church also did much to ensure that the reunification policy retained a realistic basis by its ties with the Church in the Soviet zone of occupation. By the 1950s, the Catholic part of the population had already come to consider the Federal Republic of Germany as the state with which it identified itself.

While Catholic influence in the state had reached its peak, the organisational structure of German Catholicism was most defective. Politically, differences of opinion had largely been evened out and there was a far-reaching homogeneity; political efforts however were unduly concentrated on the immediate sphere of state affairs (admittedly with considerable success in personnel policy) and on the model of the Church-State relationship.

Organisational and structural autonomy, which since the nineteenth century had been a feature of political Catholicism, reflected in a widely ramified system of Catholic associations, was on the other hand neglected. As a result, Catholicism hardly made its presence felt in society or helped shape it after the 1950s, except around the CDU and CSU. There was little attempt to influence public opinion, and the press in particular was neglected; Catholic associations were not in a position to advance beyond their defensive function—which must be understood in the light of history—in order to play a constructive role and to help shape events in a pluralistic society. Viewing the situation as a whole, it must be said that the Church did not come to grips with the novel problems of today's society of industry and communications. On the other hand, as a closely-knit body, it was able to exert considerable influence and thus discharged its function as a servant of society in charitable and welfare activities.

3. *From 1962/63 to 1967/68*

Feeling that its position in state and society was fairly secure, the Catholic Church began to concentrate increasingly on internal ecclesiastical problems with the beginning of the second Vatican Council. In those years, the Council had a liberating effect, particularly among the educated. To a hitherto unknown extent, the Church found itself in the centre of public interest. The outstanding prestige of Popes Pius XII and John XXIII had repercussions also on the prestige of the Church in Germany.

00069

The attempt to lay the foundations for a new relationship with the world, with society and with the state did not go beyond theoretical discussion; it provoked uncertainty regarding the rightness of the existing relationship and thus initiated a process of disintegration without offering any adequate new approach. This led to a paradoxical situation: religious life first received a new stimulus, but at the same time the process of disintegration of religious values and standards in society gathered strength and attacks on the Church and on alleged "clericalisation" became more common. Politically, the Church, after having played a positive role in shaping events, found itself placed on the defensive: it was accused both of failing to understand its pluralistic environment and of conformism, of being the prisoner of its milieu. This defensive position and the turning inwards to which we have referred left the Church scarcely capable of initiative in state or society; its influence stagnated, although public interest in it increased. With a plurality of opinions forming inside it, which, however, did not basically challenge common sense, the Church still managed to maintain a common front to the outside world.

4. *From 1967/68 onwards*

For the image of Church, the turning inwards which followed the Vatican Council had initially a favourable effect and no negative results as regards its influence on state and society. In 1967 and 1968, there was a radical and rapid change. State, society and Church undoubtedly influenced each other. The marked social changes, the cultural crisis of those years, however, had greater repercussions on the Church than had ever before been the case: all the controversial issues in the political and social spheres were transferred to the Church, which had not yet taken up a new, clearly defined position after the Vatican Council. The critical self-appraisal which went on in every sphere of the life of the Church had a paralysing effect. What is more, for the first time it led to the development of a pluralistic concept within the Church and thus undermined the common attitude on basic matters. The Church now viewed itself as one of the many large social groups, not as a large group *sui generis* in the way it had done before (an outward manifestation of this may be found in the Essen Catholic Conference of 1968). This crisis of identity led to a rapid decline of influence in state and society and a very marked loss of prestige. Doubt was implanted in the faithful by the reckless propagation of insufficiently thought-out one-sided theological views, the *de facto* establishment of new "authorities" outside the hierarchy and the insecure position of the "true" authorities. The concept of the "permissive society" also had its supporters in the Church.

00070

The prestige of the Pope and the bishops declined to a low level, particularly after the Encyclical *Humanae Vitae*, and is declining further. The unity which has hitherto been preserved is collapsing. The institutions are in process of disintegration.

Since 1945, the chances of the Church influencing the shape of state and society have never been as small as they are today. On the one hand, the Church is the target of unbridled criticism. Not only from outside, but also and above all from inside, it is denied the right to public action within the present institutional framework. On the other hand, it is made to bear some of the blame for many injustices for which it should not be answerable, since it cannot prevent them. It is as yet impossible to see how the Church will try to regain the ground lost. In Germany, the leaders of the Church have not followed, or only partially followed, the trends described, and it may therefore be hoped that the Church will find its way back to a common attitude on matters of principle and that on this basis it may again exert its influence in the pluralistic world surrounding it, particularly since the faithful in their majority are unenthusiastic about the widely discussed "modern" theories, which they find unintelligible and therefore of little interest.

00071

REPORT ON
"RELIGION IN SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS"

BY

PROFESSOR ALBERT D'HAENENS, LOUVAIN

00072

On 11 May 1971, the organisers of the Louvain Symposium entrusted to me the task of assembling information on the treatment of religion in history textbooks used in secondary schools in CCC member states. In order to accomplish this within the extremely early time-limit set, it was imperative to enlist the services of a research team. The team set about defining the *objective* and *method*, recording their results and comments in *summaries* for participants in the symposium, and tentatively interpreting their analyses in a *report* serving as an introduction to the working sessions.

The following pages contain the introductory report and two analytical summaries.[1]

Objective and methods of research

The objective was to ascertain the importance given to religion and the way it is represented in secondary school textbooks.

The aim was not to study the various stages of preparation and development of the texts under consideration, analysing the "production" process, in order to determine what the author had borrowed from other sources and what could be considered as his own contribution. Nor was it intended to carry out a "consumer" survey to see how these texts had been received and understood by those for whom they were intended or to check whether secondary education was the most appropriate stage and the books containing the texts in question the most suitable media for transmitting historical knowledge.

What was needed was to study, in set passages viewed as "finished products", the importance, structure and function assigned, explicitly or implicitly, to the religious phenomenon, i.e. to determine what religion represented in the eyes of the authors of the textbooks

1. The introductory report and analytical summaries amount to 350 quarto pages. Since it was impossible to include them all, I suggested to my young colleague that the substance of his report be printed, together with two model analytical summaries. The other summaries are obtainable, upon request, from the Council of Europe, or from the author, A. d'Haenens, Baertlaan 11 B, – 5009 Winksele (L.C.).

00073

and the way in which their choice and presentation of data reflected their outlook. Ideas and their expression are, of course, basically conditioned by the author's ideological or cultural affiliations, his conception of history and his view of education.

The following were members of the research team:

Jacques Degeye, history graduate;

Marie-Thérès Delmer, graduate in religious sciences, secretary to the Faculty of Theology, Louvain University;

Eugène Devue, graduate in religious sciences, teacher of divinity;

Albert d'Haenens, Doctor of History, Professor at Louvain University;

Marie-Sylvie Dupont-Bouchat, history graduate, Assistant Lecturer at Louvain University;

Pierre-Paul Dupont, history graduate;

Jean Georges, *maître de stage* (tutor) at Louvain University, history teacher at Basse-Wavre College (Belgium);

Guy Lemaire, history graduate;

Jean-Pierre Nandrin, secondary school history teacher;

Pierre Sauvage, S.J., history graduate;

Robert Waelkens, Doctor of Classical Philology, Lecturer at the *Institut Supérieur de Sciences Religieuses,* Louvain University;

Guy Zelis, history graduate, Assistant, Mediaeval History Seminar, Louvain University.

It was agreed that each member would analyse on average three series of textbooks. Owing to unforeseen circumstances, often beyond their control, some members of the team had to abandon part or even the whole of their assignment.

It was agreed from the start that the survey should not be exhaustive. As neither the time, financial and technical resources or research workers were available, it was not a question of examining all, or even most, of the series of textbooks used in secondary schools in CCC member states. The team's function was rather to carry out spot checks and accordingly to select. For the selection to be sound, sampling had to be done in accordance with criteria corresponding to the objectives pursued and the time, material, resources and manpower at the team's disposal.

00074

The material collected was intended to stimulate and give substance to discussions at the symposium and to help participants grasp the meaning and importance of the presence, or absence, of religious aspects of all kinds in historical texts. It was, therefore, essential to choose series dealing with cultural entities whose history offered sufficient chronological, ideological and social variety, i.e. French, English, German, Dutch, Italian and Spanish textbooks.

The small number of research workers, all of them volunteers carrying out, in addition, a full-time job which occupied them during the day, had to sacrifice regularly a considerable part of their private life and leisure to this work. It was, therefore, necessary to establish as many motivational links as possible between the observer and the subject under study to ensure seriousness, sincerity and careful observation, and members were asked to choose, from among the series obtained and selected, those with which they felt the closest affinity and to which they were most suited from the linguistic, professional and cultural angles. Belgian textbooks were inevitably added to those already chosen in view of the diversity of their subject-matter and French-language series were given considerably more attention than textbooks in other languages.

Not all of the seventy-five publishers approached in the countries selected replied favourably to the circular letter describing the research project.[1] The following summary gives some idea of the response.

Publishers approached	Favourable reply	Unfavourable or no reply
Federal Republic of Germany		
Bayerischer Schulbuch Verlag		–
Braun		–
Buchner	+	
Diesterweg	+	
Hirschgraben	+	
Klett	+	

1. As no systematic directory of (textbook) publishers in CCC member states or other similar aids to research (with the exception of France) were available, the list was prepared empirically, using various channels and cross-checks.

We would like to thank Professor Eckert and his helpers at the **Internationales Schulbuchinstitut** of Brunswick, and also the cultural services of the British, German and Italian embassies, which did their utmost to provide us with information on publishing houses known to them.

00075

Publishers approached	Favourable reply	Unfavourable or no reply
Lurz	+	
Schöningh		−
Schroedel		−
Schultz		−
Belgium		
- *Publishers of French textbooks*		
Casterman	+	
De Boeck	+	
Dessain	+	
Wesmael-Charlier	+	
- *Publishers of Dutch textbooks*		
De Sikkel		−
De Standaard Boekhandel		−
Van In		−
Spain		
Anaya	+	
Atlas	+	
Bosch		−
Casals	+	
Everest		−
Jover	+	
Liberia General		−
Lopez Mezquida	+	
Sal Terrae		−
SM	+	
Teide		−
France		
Belin	+	
Bordas	+	
Colin	+	
de Gigord	+	
Delagrave	+	
Dunod	+	
Hachette	+	
Hatier	+	
Istra		−
Ligel	+	
Nathan	+	
Great Britain		
Allen & Unwin		−
Arnold	+	
Associated Book Publishers:		
Barnes & Noble	+	
Methuen	+	
Bell	+	

00076

Publishers approached	Favourable reply	Unfavourable or no reply
A. & C. Black		–
Ginn	+	
Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovitch		–
Jackdaw	+	
Longman	+	
Macmillan	+	
Nelson		–
Oliver & Boyd	+	
Oxford University Press		–
Pelican		–
Italy		
La Nuova Italia	+	
La Scuola	+	
Lattes	+	
Minerva Italica	+	
Mursia	+	
Palumbo	+	
Sansoni	+	
Società Editrice Internationale	+	
Trevisini	+	
Netherlands		
Brill	+	
Dekker & van de Vegt	+	
Elsevier	+	
Graafschap		–
Malmberg	+	
Meulenhoff	+	
Nijhoff		–
Van Goor	+	
Veen	+	
Versluys	+	
Wolters-Noordhoff	+	

Seventy-eight series in all were presented or bought, of which twenty-one, together with sixty-six textbooks, were analysed: an average of three from six CCC member states. A list of these is given below, including the code number of each and the name of the examiner:

Belgium	B1a	(Casterman)	M. S. Dupont
	B2	(De Boeck)	G. Lemaire
	B3a	(Dessain)	P. P. Dupont
Federal Republic of Germany	D1a	(Buchner)	G. Zelis
	D2a	(Diesterweg)	G. Zelis and R. Waelkens
	D7	(Westerman)	P. Sauvage

00077

Spain	E1	(Anaya)	P. Sauvage
	E2	(Casals)	P. Sauvage
	E3	(Lopez Mezquida)	P. Sauvage
	E4	(SM)	P. Sauvage
France[1]	F1	(Belin)	G. Lemaire
	F2	(Bordas)	G. Lemaire
	F6	(Dunod)	J. P. Nandrin
	F7	(Hachette)	J. Georges
	F10	(Nathan)	P. P. Dupont
Great Britain	GB2	(Arnold)	J. Degeye
	GB5	(Longman)	J. Degeye
	GB6	(Macmillan)	J. Degeye
Italy	I1a	(La Scuola)	A. d'Haenens
	I1b	(La Scuola)	A. d'Haenens
	I7a	(Trevisini)	A. d'Haenens

Netherlands[2]

The team set out to make a strict, consistent and "objective" analysis of the material selected. A common reference table, therefore, had to be drawn up, developed and used by each member so as to obtain results that could be compared and measured. A quantitative and qualitative approach was chosen.

The quantitative approach, based on content analysis,[3] primarily involved enumerating the explicit data contained in specific sets of textbooks (introductions and general conclusions; text; textual; pictorial and iconographic material; exercises; summaries; indexes and glossaries; table of contents) so as to produce quantified data on the space devoted to religion.

When making the qualitative assessment, greater attention was to be paid to declared intentions, words and key-phrases and value judgements concerning religion and the religious phenomenon, with

---

1. Miss M.-Th. Delmer's analyses of the Colin and Hatier series were finally omitted as they arrived too late.

2. Three series of Dutch textbooks had been chosen. However, as Mr E. Devue, who had undertaken to analyse them, had to withdraw at the last moment, they too do not appear in the report on the analytical material.

3. As defined by Bernard Bereison, **Content Analysis**, Glencoe (Illinois), 1952, and Ithiel de Sola Pool, **Trends in Content Analysis**, Urbana, 1959.

00078

a view to providing information on the structure and nature, function and value attributed to them by the author(s) of the textbooks.

Several group working sessions were necessary before settling the final version of the analytical table as follows:

1. *Identification co-ordinates of the work document*

   1.1. Bibliographical co-ordinates

   1.2. Physical characteristics

   1.3. Authors

   1.4. Target public

   1.5. Additional documentation

   1.6. Subject of the work

   1.7. Objective

   1.8. Structure of the work

2. *Analysis of contents: references to religion*

   2.1. Declared intentions

   2.2. Introductions and general conclusions

   2.3. The text: space devoted to religion

      2.3.1 The text (in strict sense)

      2.3.2 Documentary and/or illustrative material

         2.3.2.1 Textual material with religious content

         2.3.2.2 Pictorial material with religious content

         2.3.2.3 Iconographic material with religious content

      2.3.2 Exercises

      2.3.4 Summaries

   2.4. Indexes and glossaries

   2.5. Table of contents

   2.6. Summaries of the collection/series to which the document belongs

00079

3. *Collation*

3.1. Description of what the author of the work means by religion (nature and structure of the religious phenomenon)

3.2. Definition of functions attributed to religion in the text

3.3. Definition of the author's attitude to religion

3.4. Assessment of the actual importance of the religious aspect of the text

3.5. Description of the possible tendency of the religious aspect of the text

4. *Comments on the series of works analysed as a whole*

Later on, the members of the team met frequently to compare their experiences and find common rational solutions to problems connected with practical use of the table. It was agreed that the analytical summaries intended for participants at the symposium should mention only the basic findings, presented in a similar but not necessarily identical manner, except when setting out the quantitative data. While respecting the general shape of the analytical table, each member was given considerable freedom of expression and judgement so as to safeguard his personal and subjective contribution, in itself an indispensable and indeed integral element in the presentation of the results of a group project.

The collation meeting was held in May, i.e. less than ten months after the research had actually started. The team pooled their analytical summaries and together worked out an initial interpretation of the data collected.

Research findings

The research findings could have been presented in many possible ways, but the team opted for annotated propositions, which they considered the most appropriate way of realising the purpose—to provide a stimulus and foundation for the symposium in September—assigned to this research.

00080

The propositions comprise brief statements, accompanied by notes of a more specific or, in some cases, controversial nature.

They refer to the headings in section 3 of the analytical reference table, viz.:

1. Presentation of the religious aspect;

2. Nature and structure of the religious phenomenon described;

3. Functions attributed to religion;

4. The authors' attitude to religion;

5. The space devoted to religion in textbooks.

Needless to say, these propositions do not reflect the personal religious beliefs of the team conducting the research but the various images and impressions of religion and the religious phenomenon as found in the textbooks analysed.

1. *Ways of presenting the religious phenomenon*

Proposition 1

Three different ways of presenting religious information were observed:

1. Concentrated, dealing with religion in separate paragraphs and/or chapters;

2. Treatment of religion diffused throughout the text;

3. A combination of both these approaches.

These methods of presentation may be indicative of the function and value attributed to the religious element by the author(s).

However, the implications of the various methods used are not always the same; each case has to be assessed separately.

00081

Proposition 2

For Antiquity and the Middle Ages, the religious aspect of the narrative is illustrated by both pictures and texts; for more recent periods, greater use is made of texts.

Proposition 3

Most common iconographic illustration:

1. Religious buildings (exteriors, façades in particular):
2. Gods;
3. Works of art depicting religious themes;
4. Portraits, especially of heirarchs.

Consideration

"Religious iconography, in its stereotyped presentation and confined to its artistic representation, may enable the author to avoid a choice of illustration which would disclose his own standpoint" (G. Lemaire).

2. *Nature and structure of the religious phenomenon*

Proposition 4

Few textbooks give an explicit, coherent and rational definition of religion and the religious phenomenon.

Proposition 5

The transcendental side of religion—man's relationship to the divinity, and to the after-life—is generally given only secondary importance in the textbooks analysed.

00082

Consideration

Stripped of its specific content, "religion appears as a sociological force with little intrinsic significance but capable of generating both good and evil at the political level" (G. Lemaire): conservative force associated with privilege or progressive force associated with social evolution.

Proposition 6

Teaching methods are usually given as the explicit reason both for religion being reduced to its non-transcendental aspects and for the selection and treatment of subjects.

Consideration

"... It would be an illusion to claim to deduce the religious ideas of the authors from all this. They themselves concede that their narrative is perfunctory but put forward numerous educational reasons for their consistently limited treatment of religion. The question therefore arises whether the subject should be taught at all if it can only be taught at this price" (G. Lemaire).

Proposition 7

Where Antiquity is concerned, there is a tendency to stress the spectacular and anecdotal when portraying religion.

Consideration

This tendency creates a general impression that religion resembles folklore.

Proposition 8

The importance attached to the religious aspects of history is proportionate to their temporal influence. Religions appear in the narrative when they constitute a political force

00083

Proposition 9

Religion tends to be reduced to its institutional aspect, and the institutional aspect to the vicissitudes of the higher levels of the hierarchy.

Proposition 10

After the birth of Christ, the content of religion is identified with Christianity; Christianity is identified with Catholicism, the criterion and reference point for presentation, assessment and evaluation of the religious experience of humanity over the past twenty centuries of its history.

Proposition 11

Analysis of the religious phenomenon often comes down to analysis of the crises of religious institutions and their conflict situations. Emphasis is laid on the power relationships which arise within the Catholic Church, between the various religious institutions, and between religious and political institutions. In the end, the aspect of transcendental reality never predominates.

3. *Functions of religion*

Proposition 12

There is a tendency, for all periods, when discussing the potential political, cultural and social role of religion, to stress its unifying and centralising function.

Any contrary influence is systematically played down.

Proposition 13

The religious calling is associated with possessions and privileges.

00084

1. In Antiquity, Egypt and Greece (Delphi) provide examples.

2. In the Middle Ages, although those who helped organised civic life may be presented, the clergy are usually depicted as energetically exploiting and acquiring property, rights and privileges.

3. The French Revolution provides an opportunity for illustrating institutional religion through caricatures. The clergy is portrayed successively or alternatively as enjoying a shameful amount of property and privileges, or piteously dispossessed and denuded of its advantages.

Proposition 14

Religion as an instrument of tolerance or intolerance appears in all periods: however, in modern times, this function is particularly stressed in connection with tensions between Protestants and Catholics.

Proposition 15

The missionary role of religion is emphasised throughout Western history, especially, however, when dealing with the early Middle Ages and the 13th, 16th and 19th centuries.

Proposition 16

Religion is presented, under the *ancien régime*, as concentrating ideologies and dominant powers.

Proposition 17

In the Middle Ages, the Church is depicted as having a virtual monopoly of social works, in particular social welfare.

Proposition 18

In the Middle Ages, the political and cultural functions of religion are almost invariably highlighted.

00085

Its political function is stressed in so far as it is a unifying factor; its cultural one in so far as it encourages the restoration and/or conservation of the classical Greek and Roman heritage.

Proposition 19

The active cultural role of religion virtually disappears from textbooks after the end of the Middle Ages. It is never mentioned in contemporary history.

Proposition 20

When portrayed, the village priest appears in modern times as a social worker helping to remedy the deficiencies of the state.

Proposition 21

In contemporary history, only the doctrinal and authoritarian (papal encyclicals) aspects of religion are discussed; but Belgian textbooks mention Catholic movements and social Catholicism.

Proposition 22

When discussing current events, the Church's role in furthering peace and international justice is usually stressed. Many textbooks include a picture of Paul VI at the UN and excerpts from his speech.

4. *Attitude to religion adopted by the authors of textbooks*

Proposition 23

The value ascribed to a religion by an author may be either implicit or explicit.

00086

Implicit, through the presentation chosen, the actual importance attached to religious information and the function attributed to religion in the text.

Explicit, through value judgements.

Explicit and unequivocal declarations, clearly indicating to the reader the attitude of the author(s) to religion, are uncommon.

Proposition 24

Religions are usually evaluated on the basis of cultural and intellectual patterns.

The cultural pattern takes the form (often implicit) of a scale of culture values, graded as follows:

1. Monotheism:

   1.1. Roman Catholicism in the Middle Ages, culminating under Innocent III;

   1.2. The various forms of Protestantism, regarded by authors with a Latin cultural background as Germanic expressions, more or less aberrant, of an essentially Latin and, above all, Roman religion;

   1.3. Judaism, as the source of Catholic monotheism;

2. Polytheism:

   2.1. Greek polytheism, preferably Hellenistic;

   2.2. Other polytheistic cultures.

The intellectual pattern emphasises unity at the expense of diversity, the centre at the expense of the periphery, the universal at the expense of the particular.

5. *Space devoted to religion in textbooks*

Proposition 25

The space devoted to religion in the textbooks analysed is:

00087

1. usually nil for the protohistoric era;

2. considerable for the Oriental civilisations in Antiquity;

3. greatest for the Middle Ages and 16th century;

4. very little, sometimes disappearing entirely, for the subsequent periods, closer to our own time;

5. virtually nil after 1914.

Consideration

This analysis of quantitative data suggests that the development of religion follows a *clear, latent explanatory pattern.*

This pattern is used by most textbook authors as if it were self-evident, whereas it is questionable, to say the least.

It presupposes that:

1. the only religious feelings worthy of mention by historians were experienced and lived in the distant and mythical past;

2. as history books come closer to the present day, which values the rational above all and piles up technological successes, man's religious preoccupations and experience are gradually and unavoidably dying out and disappearing.

The overall image conveyed by this explanatory pattern is all the more potent in that it is implicit and emerges from documentary material presented as purely and objectively informative and careful efforts to avoid explicit value judgements.

Conclusion

The annotated propositions, which I have just elicited from the analytical summaries, highlight one typical aspect of the cultural history of a particular group of textbook producers and users.

In the school-books analysed, religion is primarily Christian, Catholic and Roman; it achieved perfection in the Middle Ages, the 13th century in particular.

00088

The Middle Ages are, therefore, held up, usually by implication, as the only period when religion could be experienced coherently and as the ideal era when the Church reigned officially as the foundation of human relations and the organisation of civic life.

Accordingly, where users of our textbooks are concerned, the only satisfying image (because uncurtailed) of a fully experienced religion is of the mediaeval Church triumphant. The Middle Ages or, as Schnürer expressed it (Bla3, No. 22), the "great ecclesiastical period of history", are seen as another epoch—the epoch of our remote forefathers—, a unique moment, perhaps the only one, on man's long journey through history when it was possible to experience truly the religious aspect of the human condition.

Yet what we learn of religion in these semi-mythical times almost entirely neglects its transcendental side. Above all, we are shown some kind of epiphenomenon in its official concrete forms (Papacy, relationship with secular power, social effects) and its non-specific consequences (political, economic, socio-cultural).

The religious man, in his tireless search for God, appears all too seldom. Although from the textbooks it would seem that he is disappearing for ever, I am not entirely sure that this general image is an entirely accurate reflection of the recent history of mankind.

00089

APPENDIX I

Attempt at an overall picture
of data collected by quantitative analysis

These tables give an idea of the space devoted to religion, for each series analysed,[1] with regard to:

- the text (2.3.1.1.)
- textual illustration (2.3.2.1.)
- iconographic illustration (2.3.2.3.)
- table of contents (2.5.)

for the following periods:

- Pre-history (PRE)
- Antiquity (ANT)
- the Middle Ages (MA)
- 16th century (XVI)
- 17th century (XVII)
- 18th century (XVIII)
- French Revolution up to 1914 (RV – 14)
- 1914 up to publication of textbooks (14 – . . .)

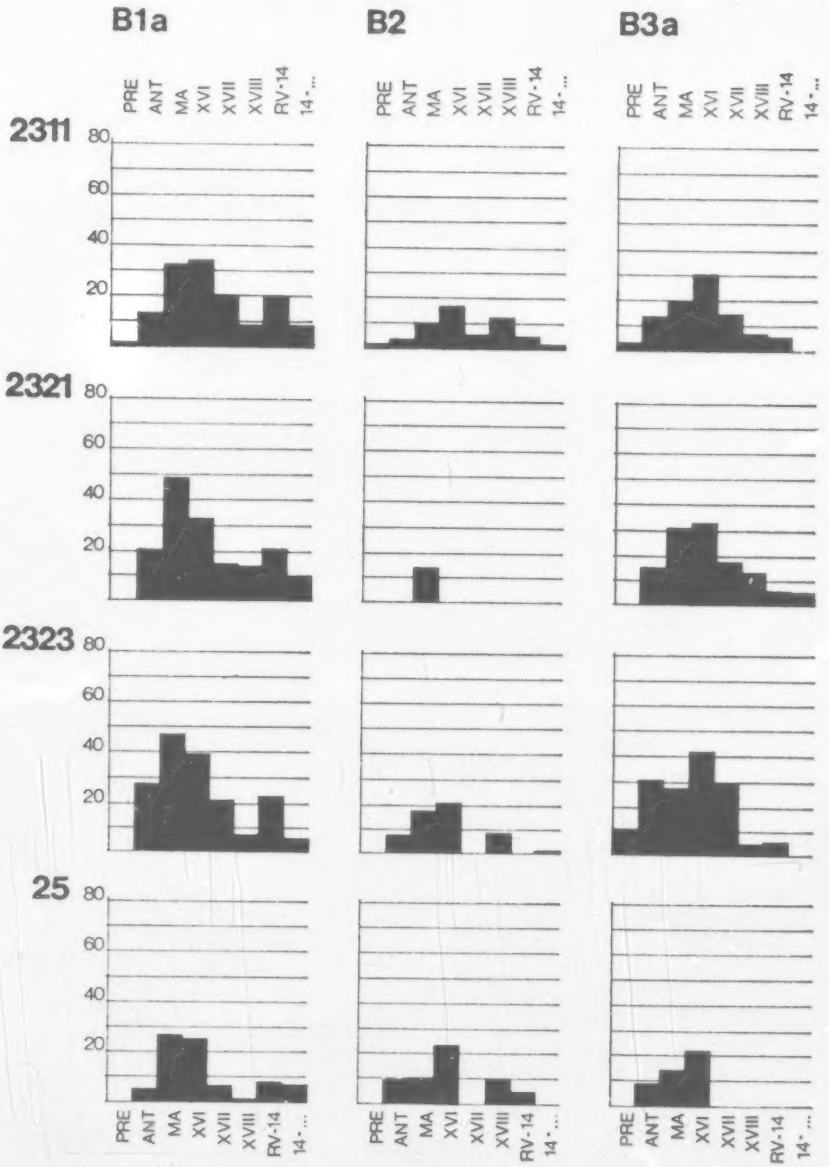
The figures given are estimated as a percentage of all information given in respect of each of the periods in question.

An interpretation of these tables is given in Proposition 25 of the report.

1. These codes are explained above, page 97.

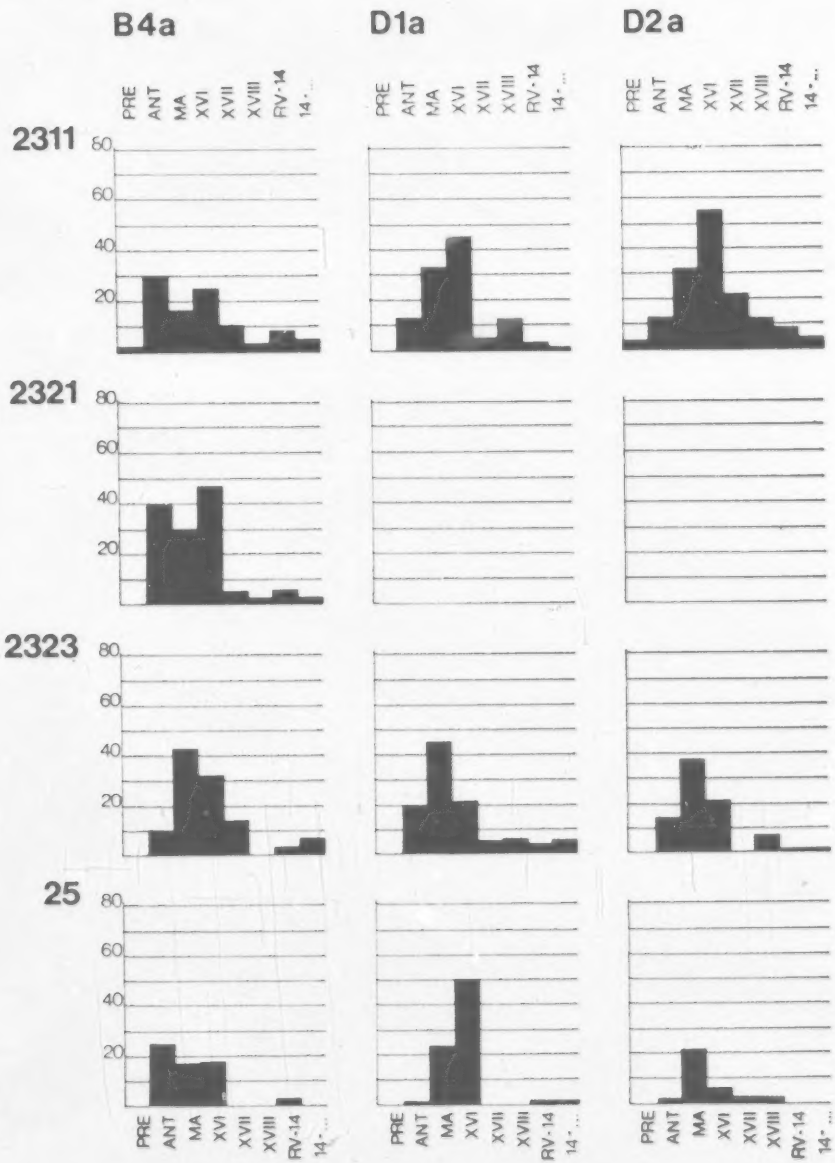
00090

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



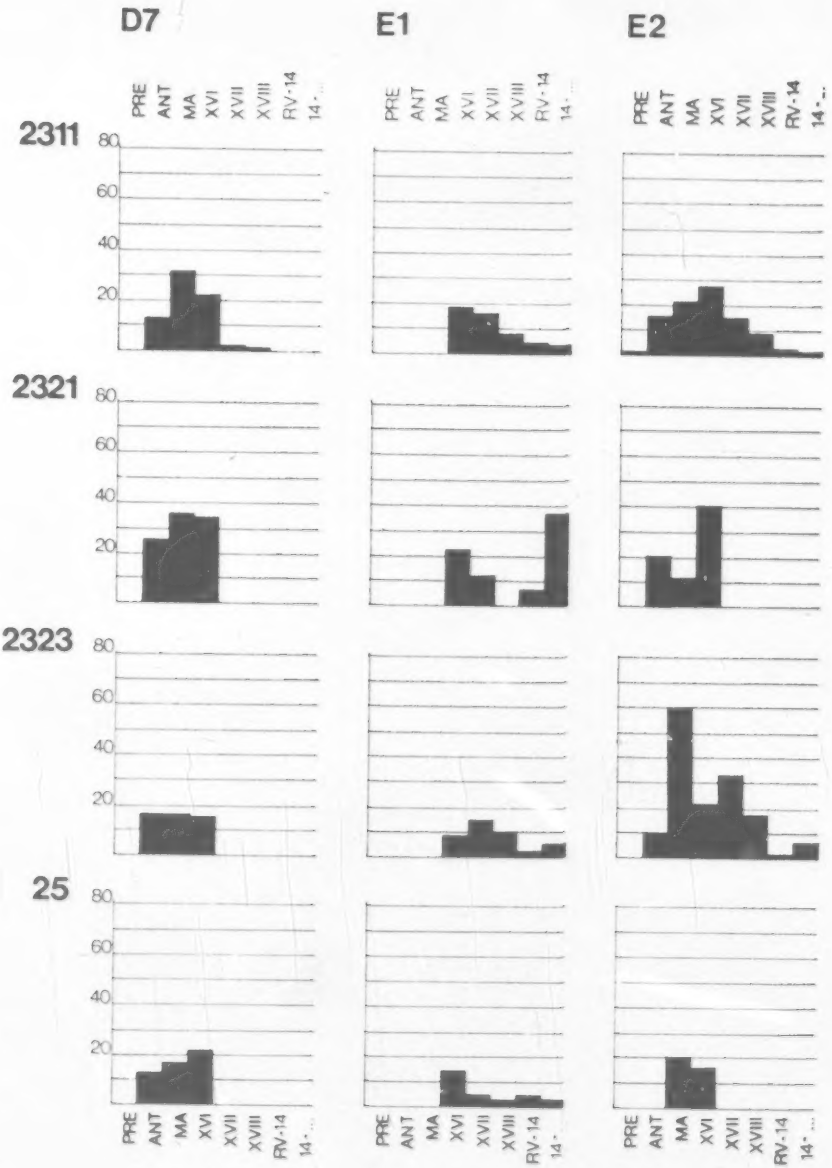
00091

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



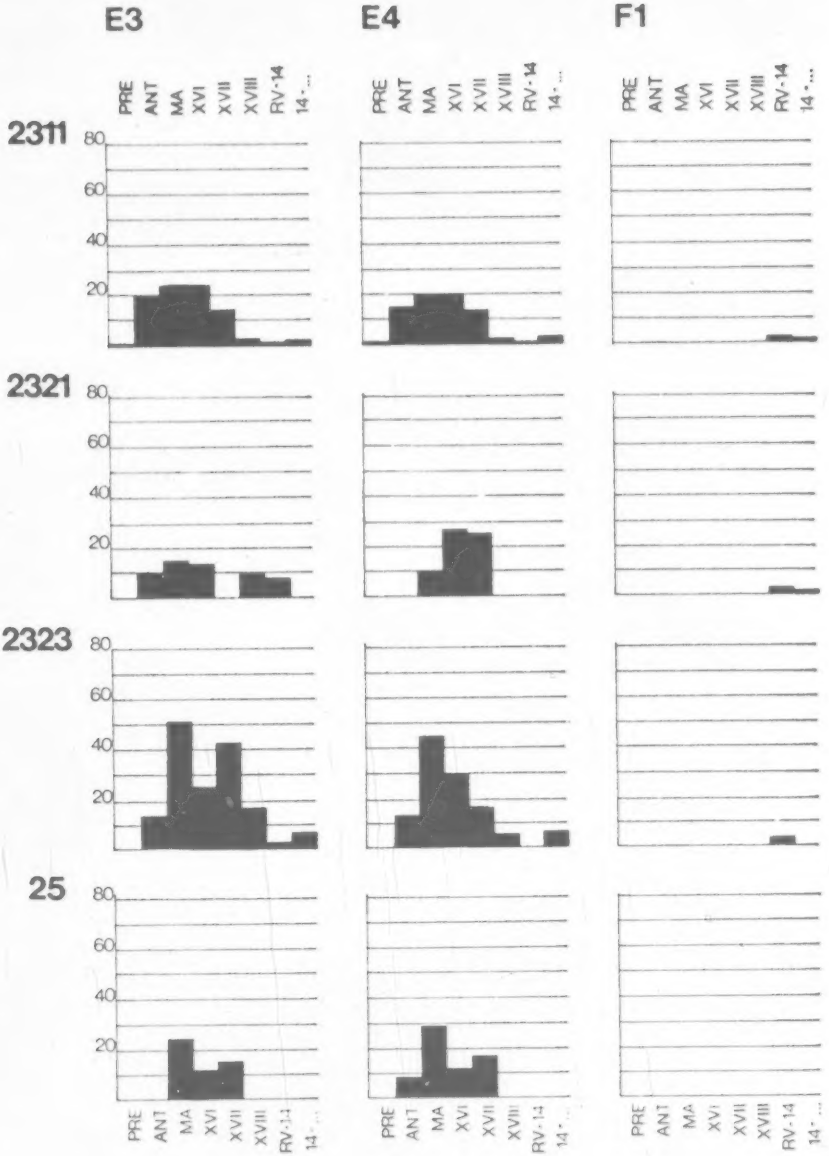
00092

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



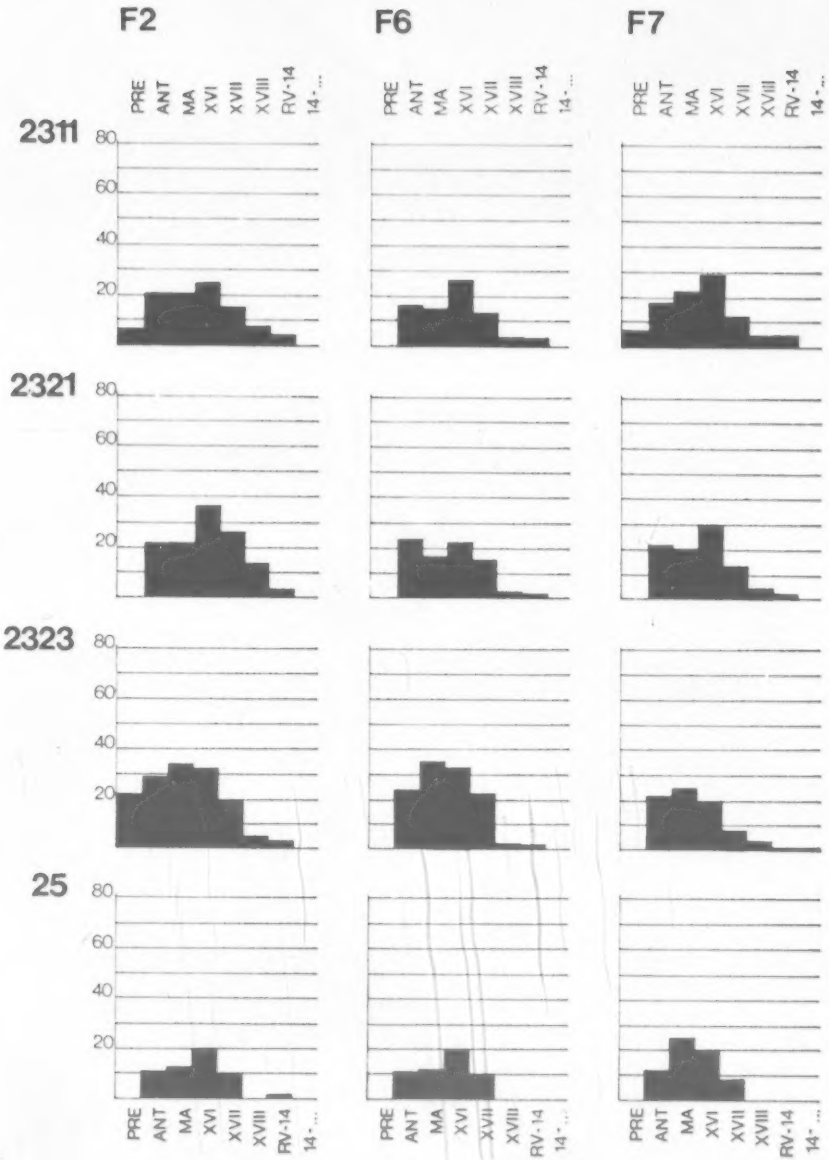
00093

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



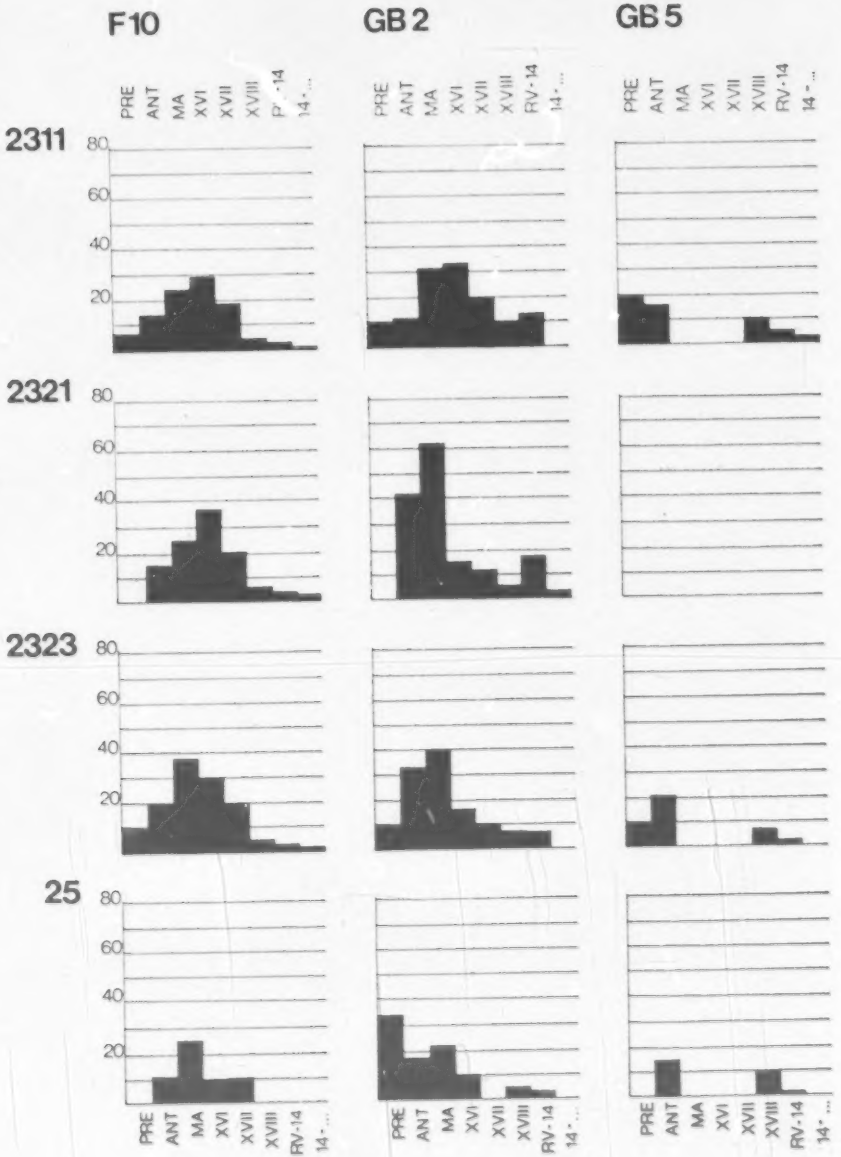
00094

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



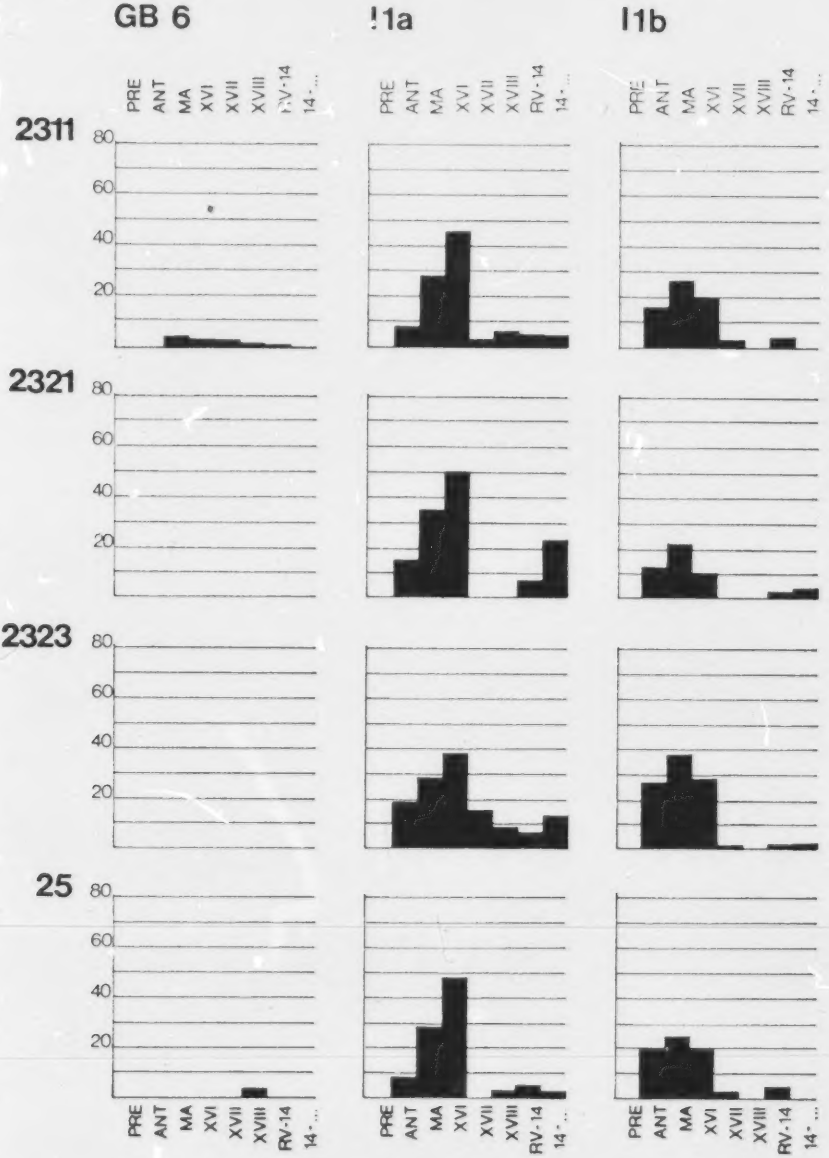
00095

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



00096

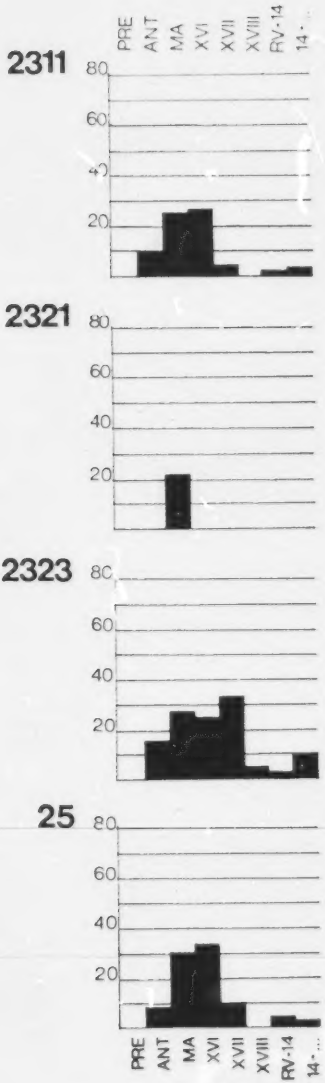
BEST COPY AVAILABLE



00097

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

I7a



APPENDIX II

Two analytical summaries[1]

A – B 1 – 5

1.1.1. Le Maire, M., Lefèvre, J.

1.1.2. *The Contemporary Period*

1.1.3.1. Casterman

1.1.3.3. 1967

1.1.3.6.2. Volume 5

1.1.5. 56 thousand

1.2.5. 324 pages

1.2.6.3.1. Housing development in Marseilles (Le Corbusier)

1.3.1.1. M. Le Maire, S. J.: *docteur en philosophie et lettres.* J. Lefèvre: *docteur en philosophie et lettres.*

1.3.3.3. M. Le Maire is a Jesuit. The volume bears the imprimatur of the bishopric of Tournai.

1.6.2. Concise summary of the history of all the periods preceding the one under consideration here, from pp. 6–10.

1.8. The book is divided into six parts, each with an introduction and a conclusion. Illustrations are incorporated in the text.

2.2. No general introduction. But in the general conclusion (pp. 303 and 306), 5 out of 72 lines are devoted to the Church, as an international body with a missionary role.

It is interesting to note the introductions, and more especially the general conclusions to each part of the book, as these sum up the conclusions reached on the religious phenomenon.

The Church is defined in terms of its evolution, from the 19th century, when it was allied to the government, "leading to widespread, militant anti-clericalism", to the 20th century, when it is described as having a special role as a "spiritual and cultural institution". This explains the space devoted to the religious element in the general introductions and conclusions: 10 % in the earlier part, up to 1914, and 5.8 % for the 1914–58 period.

2.3.1.1. N.B.: the high percentage of religious data in comparison with other textbooks covering the same period.

---

1. Owing to lack of space, it was impossible to publish more than two of the summaries prepared by the team. As samples, we chose a summary on a Belgian contemporary history textbook, for use in Catholic upper secondary schools, and a summary of a German textbook on the ancient world, for use in lower secondary schools. To save space, the long extracts quoted by the analysts in illustrating their reports have been omitted. Numbering is that of the table on p. 97. L. G.

00099

2.3.1.2.1.

Nature of the religious phenomenon	Before 1914	After 1914	Total	%
Beliefs, attitude (basically dechristianisation)	38	9	47	5
Institutional structure				
Dogma and doctrine (primarily social doctrines)	118	28	146	16.8
Hierarchy and institutions	103	5	108	12.4
Religious figures	16	3	19	2
Functions				
Religion and political life	223	18	241	27.8
Religion and cultural life	64	10	74	8
Religion and social life	35	28	63	7
Religion and economic life	9	2	11	1
The missionary spirit	12	13	25	2.8
Religion giving rise to tolerance or intolerance (anti-clericalism)	92	22	114	13
Religion as a unifying or disruptive factor	9	9	18	2
Total	719	147	866	97.8

Note the drop in the number of facts on religion after 1914. They appear to remain equally distributed, however, although the social role takes precedence over the political. There are more facts recorded on the missionary spirit for this particular period than for the preceding one.

2.3.1.2.2. The key-words (in italics): *dechristianisation, anti-clericalism, social doctrine, Christian trade unions, Catholic movements, laity, teaching.*

Key figures: *Newman* (p. 89 + photo), *Lammennais* (p. 94 + photo), *Leon XIII* (p. 167 + photo).

2.3.1.3. The religious causalities are too numerous to be recorded here. They fall into two categories: those with religious, or para-religious consequences.

Stress is primarily laid on the Church's involvement in politics: its collusion with the government provokes a wave of anti-clericalism (cf. p. 88: in France under the Restoration and the second Empire), but the role of the Church or religion in giving the divine seal to authority (Napoleon's consecration, legalising his usurpation of power (p. 37); the example of the *Caudillo* in Spain (p. 244), "a charismatic leader, given by Providence to save his people"), or as a source of political conflicts (the civil war in Switzerland in 1848 (p. 85); in France under Napoleon III (pp. 124–5); in Ireland (p. 145); in the Eastern question (p. 151); in Spain (p. 244) . . .) remains of importance.

00100

Within the Church, the duality of the Popes' role makes their position a difficult one. Their personalities are also a decisive factor.

2.3.1.4. Appraisals mainly refer to great men in laudatory terms. There is, however, some implied criticism of, or regret at, errors of the Church, as, too, of trade unions. Admiration is expressed for great Catholic authors.

2.3.2.1. In terms of quantity:
before 1914: 11/49 including 5 on doctrine (social) and 6 on politics:
after 1914: 2/18 on social doctrine.

In comparison with other textbooks (B3–4: 4/72 and 1/10: or F10.4: 5/91 and 2/89), these figures and percentages, in relation to all the illustrations, give some idea of the emphasis placed on religion or, more specifically, the Church.

2.3.2.3. The same is true of the iconographic documents.

Before 1914: 11/48 including five religious figures (two popes, Pius IX and Leon XIII, Cardinal Newman, Lamennais and ... Rasputin, a visionary monk); the rest are brief sketches, emphasising the alliance or conflict between Church and authority.

After 1914: 1/17 (the chapel at Ronchamps with the inscription "As the Church is transformed, so it endures").

Compared with that of other textbooks (B3–4: 0/16 and 0/2: or F10: 5/163 and 1/142), the number of iconographic documents of a religious kind is large and significant of the importance accorded to religion by the authors.

2.4. Religious figures do not appear as such in the index. 8/79 glossary terms define religious institutions or political attitudes to the Church (Concordat, Josephism).

2.5. The number of religious titles included in the contents (11/146 before 1914: 4/64 after) also reveals the emphasis lent to religious subjects (B3–4: 0/27 and 0/11: F10.4: 0/17 and 0/16).

The titles are very significant of the approach to religion.

3.1. It is primarily viewed from an institutional angle, that of the Church. Three chapters are devoted to discussion of the subject (history of the Church and Catholicism): however, one paragraph deals with the non-Catholic Christian Churches, and the last paragraph, despite its title "destinies of religions", is concerned solely with the Catholic Church: there is evident confusion between religion and the Church (cf. 32). Just as the Church intervenes "in the world", especially in politics, so the religious factor appears in other chapters. The authors give some account of this in Chapter IV on the "Catholic Church and Catholicism (1789–1846)".

The especial nature of religion (structure and nature) does not occupy a major position (about 40% as against 60% to functions), especially as it is the Church's social doctrines and role which predominate (16% of the narrative and 50% of the religious texts).

The Papacy occupies the prime position in the hierarchy (cf. 2.3.1.3 and 2.3.2.3) but the laity also have a place (cf. 2.3.1.3 key-words).

00101

A paradoxical definition is given of the religious phenomenon when the authors discuss Nazism: in the context of religious feeling, their concern is limited to mass indifference and dechristianisation, which recurs as a leitmotiv in the study of Catholicism in different countries (pp. 159, 160, 161, 162 . . .: cf. also the key-words, 2.3.1.3.).

3.2. In the 19th century, it has an important political role (first, with regard to papal politics, but also in upholding authority; in some instances, authority is legalised through consecration (Napoleon, the *Caudillo*), or Catholic support is either enlisted (Leon XIII in France, in 1892) or constitutes the mainstay of authority (Napoleon III). It is presented as a political force.

Its cultural role (including its political implications) in teaching and scientific research, or in the religious inspiration of the great Catholic authors (Claudel, Mauriac) receives most emphasis in the 20th century (cf. above, general conclusions to the third part, p. 179, and to the sixth part, p. 302).

Its social role is emphasised, especially with regard to doctrines and trade unions.

However, in the 20th century, its missionary role is paramount.

3.3. The authors' attitude to religion is clearly apparent from the above extracts. It is, indeed, manifest from the very beginning of this report, and more especially from the appraisals made (cf. 2.3.1.4.), that they regret the Church's long-standing reactionary nature (misguided compromises); they show approval of progressives (clear-sighted Popes, liberal laity). They dwell on the Church's efforts to adapt: the final picture at the end of the last chapter of the textbook is symbolic.

00102

1.1.1.2. Ebeling, H., Birkenfeld, W.

1.1.2. *Die Reise in die Vergangenheit. Ein geschichtliches Arbeitsbuch - Band 1: Von fernen Zeiten*

1.1.3.1. Georg Westermann

1.1.3.2. Braunschweig

1.1.3.3. 1970

1.1.3.6. *Die Reise in die Vergangenheit*—Band 1

1.1.4. 6.80 DM

1.2.2. Fixed

1.2.3. Black and white

1.2.4. 16 cm x 24 cm

1.2.5. 151 pages

1.2.6.1. Flexible glossy cover

1.2.6.3.1. Coloured reproduction, and in the centre of the page: "Die Goldmaske, die den jungen Pharao Tut-ench-Amon in seinem Grab bedeckte" ("The gold mask which covered the young Pharaoh Tutenkhamun in his grave").

Other particulars: *Die Reise in die Vergangenheit.*
Ebeling. Birkenfeld. Band 1. Westermann

1.2.6.3.2. Plain black colour, several figures in white at the foot of the page

1.2.6.3.3. Ebeling. *Die Reise in die Vergangenheit. 1*
Birkenfeld

1.3.2. H. Ebeling: "Schulrat". W. Birkenfeld: Prof. Dr

1.4.1. Germany

1.4.3. Lower secondary

1.4.4. Pupils

1.4.5. School and post-school

"Werft bitte dieses Buch nicht weg, verkauft oder verschenkt es nicht gleich wieder am Ende des Schuljahres! Ihr könnt es auch in den kommenden Jahren bei unseren weiteren Reisen immer wieder zur Erinnerung und Wiederholung benutzen" (at the end of the book) ("Please do not throw out, sell or give

00103

away this book at the end of the school year! You can also use it in the coming years on further journeys into the past either as a reminder or for revision").

1.5.1. A very detailed prospectus lists three areas of additional information: "für die Hand des Lehrers, für die Hand des Schülers, für praktische Arbeit in der Klasse" ("for the teacher, for the pupil, for practical class work").

1.5.2.1. The teacher's book is the same as the pupils' with the addition of yellow pages in various chapters.

1.5.2.4. *Westermanns Geschichtsatlas Politik–Wirtschaft–Kultur* (for the pupils)

Westermanns Großer Atlas zur Weltgeschichte and *Geschichtsatlas Völker, Staaten und Kulturen* (for the teacher)

For practical class work, there are wall charts and transparencies.

1.5.2.2. *Arbeitshefte I* (in preparation)

1.5.2.5. Series of slides (in preparation)

1.6.2. "Es folgen ihm (dem Buch) ja noch einige weitere Bände, die einen guten Platz in eurer Bücherei neben euren anderen Büchern haben wollen!" (This book is followed by several further volumes which expect a good place beside the other books in your library").

1.7. The textbook constitutes a means of acquiring knowledge, a means of access to discovery of the past. The author presents his textbook as the pupil's journey into the past, with the 20th century as his starting point.

1.8. *Structure of the textbook*

Contents

A foreword in the form of a letter to the reader.

An introduction designed to convey a sense of history or at any rate of the time-span involved *(Die Straße der Geschichte)* ("The road of history").

Four main parts, each with 30–40 pages.

The parts are divided into chapters (from 2–4).

Most of the chapters include a section in which events are set out in more direct terms, bearing the title *Lebensbild* ("Scenes from the life of various people") or *Ein Bericht aus unseren Tagen* ("A report from today").

2.3.1.2.1. *Organisation of the facts in sub-sections*

1. *God*	Facts
Belief in gods or in mythological deities	10
Anthropomorphism of the Greek gods	1

00104

	Facts
Genealogy of the Greek gods	3
Deification of kings	1
Total	15

2. *The hereafter*

Belief in the after-life	4

3. *Religious history*

The Bible, a record of the past	4
Geography of religious history	1
History of ancient Israel	17
History of Muhammad	5
Total	27

4. *Religious sites and acts*

Buildings erected to the glory of God	6
Divine ritual	4
Sacred ceremonies	5
Total	15

5. *Message and doctrine*

Christian behaviour	2
Christian message	
Moslem message	4
Life of communities	2
Total	8

6. *Mission and evangelisation*

Expansion of Christianity	3
Expansion of Islam	3
Christian apostolate	4
Moslem apostolate	1
Missionary life	6
Conversion of other races	4
Total	21

7. *Institutions*

Catholic	8
Islamic	1
Total	9

00105

2.3.2.1 *Textual documents*

Ancient world: Extract from an Egyptian Book of the Dead.

Extract from St Luke's Gospel on Christ's birth in Bethlehem. Text by Tacitus on Christians.

Middle Ages: Lebuin on a mission to the Saxons. Willfram on a mission to the Frisians.

2.3.2.2. *Illustrations: Maps. Legends*

Ancient world: "Wanderweg der Abraham-Zeit" ("The route of Abraham and his people"). Map showing the main religious sites in ancient Greece.

Middle Ages: Map showing the expansion of Islam. "Die ersten Bischofssitze im Germanenland" ("The first bishoprics in Germanic territory").

2.3.2.3. *Iconographic documents. Legends*

Ancient world:

Architecture: Famous temples in ancient Greece. "Die Aussenanlage des Felsentempels von Abu Simbel" ("The outside of the cliff at Abu Simbel"). "Der Tempelturm von Ur" ("The ziggurat of Ur").

"Poseidon Tempel auf dem Kap Sunion (Griechenland)" ("The temple of Poseidon on Cape Sounion, Greece").

View of Olympia.

"Die Akropolis, der Burgberg von Athen" ("The Acropolis, the castle-hill of Athens").

Painting: "Die Seele Hunefers im Totenreich angekommen" ("The soul of Hunefer arrives in the Underworld").

Landscape: "Die Ufer des Jordans" ("The banks of the Jordan").

Middle Ages:

Architecture: Famous mosques of Islam.

"Die Pfalzkapelle Karls des Grossen in Aachen" ("Charlemagne's palace chapel in Aachen").

Corridor in a Roman catacomb. Xanten Cathedral. Theodoric's tomb at Ravenna.

Work in gold: Duke Tassilo's chalice.
Cover of a 19th century Bible.

Painting: "Christus dargestellt als der gute Hirte" ("Christ portrayed as the Good Shepherd").
"Bonifatius spendet die Taufe und erleidet den Märtyrertod" ("Boniface baptises and is martyred").

00106

3.1. From the choice of sub-sections, it is clear that the author attaches great importance to the historical origins of religion. He is intent upon proving to pupils that the history of the elect is more than just "a collection of stories".

In the same vein, he lays emphasis on the origins of Christianity. In this chapter, he emphasises the missionary role of Christianity, which he sums up as follows: "Die Botschaft von dem einen, allmächtigen Gott, der die Menschen wie ein guter Vater liebte; die Botschaft vom Gleichsein aller Menschen vor Gott und von der Nächstenliebe" (p. 128) ("The message of the one almighty God, who loves mankind like a good father; the message of the equality of all mankind and of 'love thy neighbour' "). He emphasises, too, the role of Christianity in the growth of Europe. He mentions only the religious aspect of missionary work.

The narrative in its entirety can be seen as a way of presenting the religious facts in as unemotive and objective a way as possible.

3.2. The religious phenomenon as:

a source of conflict:

The behaviour of the first Christians in society aroused amazement and mistrust in their fellow citizens. Christians were persecuted because of their refusal to worship the emperor as God.

a source of funeral customs:

The Egyptian belief in a new life in the kingdom of the dead led them to put their everyday utensils in the tombs of their dead.

a source of power:

The unlimited power of the Roman emperors had disastrous consequences for them; they looked upon themselves as gods.

Causal links are very rarely established: facts are stated simply.

3.3. As with causalities, few appraisals are given.

P. Sauvage

00107

SUMMARY OF THE CASE-STUDY
ON
"THE CONVERSION OF CONSTANTINE"

BY

PROFESSOR MARTA SORDI, MILAN

00108

The Constantinian controversy proper arose during the 1930s following a series of articles by H. Grégoire. Several years later, it assumed such importance in the study of ancient history throughout the world that it was made the subject of one of the general reports presented at the Xth International Congress of Historical Sciences (Rome, September 1955). According to the traditional version, which is disputed by Grégoire and by the historians of his school, Constantine's conversion took place in 312 on the eve of the battle with Maxentius; it was Constantine who initiated and promoted the policy which secured complete freedom for Christianity and the Church, a policy formulated jointly by Constantine and Licinius at Milan in what is called the Edict of Milan. According to Grégoire and his school, on the contrary, there was no conversion in 312 and the symbol which Constantine adopted on the eve of his victory over Maxentius was a solar, not a Christian, symbol. Their theory is that the philo-Christian policy was initiated by Maxentius, then imitated by Galerius—who was inspired by Licinius—and subsequently by the same Licinius during his struggle with Maximin Daia, thereafter by Maximin Daia and his last edict, and lastly by Constantine, who did not claim the entire credit for that policy until after his final victory over Licinius. In their belief, no real political meeting between Constantine and Licinius took place in Milan and the "Edict of Milan" merely extended the Edict of Galerius of 311, (inspired) by Licinius to the states of Maximin. Many scholars, however, have in their time challenged the views of Grégoire and his school and adduced new arguments to confirm the Christian character of the turning point of 312 and the theory that Constantine preceded Licinius in his policy of tolerance.

In order to arrive at a conclusion on the question, we must first consider the problem of the sources:

a. The contemporary pagan sources are the Panegyrics and the Arch of Constantine (with its inscription and beliefs): the divinity to which Constantine's victory in 312 is attributed in the Panegyrics of 313 and 321 (by Nazarius) is indicated by vague names and is not identified with any of the traditional pagan divinities; the same reticence is observed in the inscription and in the figures of the Arch dedicated in 315 by the Senate to commemorate the victory won *instinctu divinitatis.*

00109

b. The letters which Constantine sent, at the end of 312 and early in 313, to Anullinus, proconsul in Africa, and to Caecilian, Bishop of Carthage, dealt with the blessings and privileges to be attributed to the Christian Church and the "lawful and very holy" Catholic religion.

c. Christian sources written a few years after the events (cf. especially Lactantius and Eusebius) affirm that on the eve of the campaign against Maxentius (Eusebius) or of the battle of Pons Mulvius (Lactantius), Constantine had a vision (Eusebius) or a dream (Lactantius) exhorting him to have the Labarum made (Eusebius) and to place on his shields the sign (cross or monogram of Christ) seen in his vision or dream, and this is what Constantine did when he won his victory.

The only valid assumption emerging from a comparison of these sources which will stand up to critical examination is that Constantine ascribed credit for his victory to the God of the Christians; it was in fact the Christian, not the solar, symbol that he adopted during his struggle against Maxentius. The solar symbols appearing on Constantinian coinage until about 320 may be explained by the fact that by his conversion, Constantine went beyond rather than repudiated the cult, which he had practised until 312, of the unconquered sun, the *summus deus* of many names, whom he identified with the *unus deus* of the Christians after his experience of 312. This explanation derives from Constantine's own version of his conversion as narrated in Eusebius's *Vita Constantini* (and whose authenticity has been wrongly disputed). This version also brings out the character of an "alliance with divinity" which the Emperor gave to the decisive episode of 312. Constantine's conversion therefore reflects the same attitude to divinity as that which characterised primitive Roman religiosity and which in the second half of the third century again constituted the principal problem of the Roman Emperors: the search for the "strongest god" which dictated the choice of Aurelian, Diocletian and Galerius.

In the light of Constantine's sincere religious conviction (even though hinged with typically Roman and pagan religiosity), which led him to conclude an alliance with the God of the Christians who was supposed to have appointed him *episcopos ton ektos*, one can understand the Emperor's entire religious policy right from the agreement signed with Licinius at Milan—which bears the imprint of Constantine in its aim to secure for the empire the good will of the divinity—up to his interventions in the internal controversies of the Church and, particularly, in the Donatist and Arian questions.

One or two pages are devoted to the conversion of Constantine in the textbooks for lower intermediate schools which I have examined, and one, two or three in those for upper intermediate schools. Refer-

00110

ence is made in nearly all textbooks for lower intermediate schools to the episode which occurred just before Constantine's victory over Maxentius and to the "Edict of Milan" but there is no mention of the critical problems to which the events of 312 and 313 gave rise. At most, it is the political or religious motives of Constantine's action that are discussed. All the textbooks accept the "Christian" significance of Constantine's victory and ascribe to Constantine (and in some cases to Constantine alone: Brancati, Bruni, Giannelli in 1964 and Giannelli in 1967, Calisti, Paolucci, Pugliese) the decisions of Milan, which they continue to call by the traditional and inexact name of "Edict of Milan". Some of the textbooks contain actual mistakes and anachronisms.

In the textbooks intended for upper intermediate schools, the "Constantinian question" is referred to, but usually in a very confused fashion. In nearly all cases, the only problems discussed are those of the episode of 312, for which the Christian interpretation is accepted. Frequently both Eusebius's and Lactantius's versions of Constantine's vision are given and both Lactantius's and Aurelius Victor's versions regarding the place of the combat. Some textbooks (Olivati, Brancati 1961, Brancati 1962) refer to the doubts of modern critics concerning the version contained in the *Vita Constantini* and give readers the impression that this is the only version of the event. One textbook (Zelasco) does not accept the Christian interpretation and speaks of an obscure magic symbol; based coherently but exclusively on Grégoire's theory, it appears to ignore the existence of any controversy in the matter. The Christian interpretation also seems to be rejected by two other textbooks (Camera, Morghen) whose language gives rise to serious historical misunderstandings. By contrast, where the so-called Edict of Milan is concerned, nearly all the textbooks (except Zelasco and Bacci, who, in notes which conflict with the text, see in the above edict a confirmation of the Edict of Galerius) recognise in Constantine the initiator of the philo-Christian policy; most textbooks (Olivati, Brancati 1961, Brancati 1962, Camera, Operti, Sacerdoti, Morghen, Vitucci, Gianelli, Villari) unhesitatingly attribute the edict to Constantine; some, like Camera and Morghen, seem to be unaware that repudiation of tradition concerning the Christian significance of the choices made by Constantine in 312 implies repudiation of the tradition concerning his decisions of 313. The textbooks are deeply divided as to the political and religious significance of Constantine's choice: moreover, since their interpretations do not derive from a correct critical analysis of the question, the conclusions which they draw, particularly as regards the political motives, are anachronistic and sometimes downright fanciful.

Constantine's conversion is not adequately treated in Italian textbooks except by Mr Momigliano. It is not only a question of space:

00111

with the same number of pages as that devoted to the subject in nearly all the other textbooks, Mr Momigliano succeeds in presenting the conversion of Constantine simply, clearly and exactly, bringing out its problematical aspects and at the same time suggesting the most probable interpretation.

In general, the faults and inaccuracies detected in the various textbooks are due not so much to didactic exigencies as to insufficient knowledge of the historical problems and of the ancient sources.

Documentation

In Italy, the conversion of Constantine is dealt with in the lower intermediate schools (first intermediate class, around age eleven), and in the upper intermediate schools, in the fifth class of the *ginnasio*, in the second class of scientific secondary schools, in the second class of technical institutes (around age fifteen) and in the transition class of training schools for nursery school teachers (around age fourteen). Reference is also made to this subject early in the study of medieval history, in the first form of classical secondary schools (around age sixteen).

History textbooks intended for the first class of intermediate schools deal with ancient history from pre-history to the age of Justinian; those for the fifth class of the *ginnasio* and for the second class of scientific secondary schools comprise only Roman history from the Etruscans to Justinian; those for technical institutes deal with the period from Augustus to about 1200; those for the transition class of training schools for nursery-school teachers deal with Oriental, Greek and Roman history up to Justinian.

1. *Textbooks for lower intermediate schools*

Avveduto – Borello Acri – Belvederi, *L'avventura umana*, I, (ed. Scol. Mondadori), pp. 284–5 (Avveduto).

A. Brancati, *L'uomo e il suo tempo*, I, 203 and 208 (ed. La Nuova Italia, Profilo) p. 185, Materialep (Brancati).

E. Bruni – R. Baronchelli, *Storia ed educazione civica*, I, (ed. Signorelli), pp. 324 et 332 (Bruni).

G. Giannelli, *Conquiste umane*, I, (ed. Bulgarini), pp. 270–1 (Giannelli 1964).

00112

G. Giannelli, *Opere e conquiste*, I, Zanichelli, pp. 272–3
(Giannelli 1967).

R. Morghen – G. Calisti, *Civilta*, I,
(ed. Palumbo), pp. 266–7 (Calisti).

W. Minestrini – G. Re[illegible] *Il volto dei secoli*, I,
(ed. Trevisini), pp. 81–2 (Minestrini).

S. Paolucci, *Storia*, I Zanichelli, p. 305
(Paolucci).

P. Pugliese, *Il regno dell'uomo*, I,
(ed. Lattes), s. p. (Pugliese).

G. Spini, *Pietro Miliari*, I, Cremonesi, p. 280
(Spini)

2. *Textbooks for the fifth class of the ginnasio and the second class of scientific secondary schools*

S. Accame – G. Vitucci, *L'uomo nell'evo antico*, II,
(ed. La scuola), pp. 296–7 (Vitucci).

P. E. Arias, *Periplus*, II,
(ed. Zanichelli), p. 316 (Arias).

M. Bacci, *Scie della Storia*, II,
(ed. scol. Mondadori), p. 222 (Bacci).

A. Brancati, *Sulle vie della storia*, II,
(ed. La nuova Italia), pp. 169–70 (Brancati 1962).

A. Camera – R. Fabietti, *Elementi di storia antica*, II,
(ed. Zanichelli), pp. 336–7 (Camera).

G. Falco B. Proto, *Storia di Roma*, II,
(ed. Mursia), pp. 351–2 (Falco).

A. Momigliano, *Sommario di Storia delle civilta antiche*, II,
(ed. La nuova Italia), pp. 294–6 (Momigliano).

Olivati – Brancati, *Il mondo Antico*, II,
(ed. La nuova Italia), pp. 332–4 (Olivati).

P. Operti – D. Alasia, *Civilta antiche*, II,
(ed. Lattes), pp. 209–11 (Operti).

00113

P. Sacchi, *Storia etrusca e romana*
(ed. Sansoni), pp. 391–4 (Sacchi).

R. Sacerdoti, *Noi e gli antichi*, II,
(ed. Narman), p. 359 (Sacerdoti).

A. Saitta, *Civiltà del Passato*, II,
(ed. Sansoni, pp. 402 and 406–7 (Saitta).

G. Spini, *Le età antiche*, II,
(ed. Cremonese), pp. 268–70 (Spini).

G. Zelasco, *Civiltà mediterranea*, II,
(ed. Principatox), pp. 327–9 (Zelasco).

3. *Textbooks for the transition class of schools for nursery-school teachers*

C. A. Giannelli, *Il mondo classico da Pericle a Giustiniano*,
(ed. Bulgarini), pp. 324–5 (Giannelli).

G. B. Picotti – C. Violante, *Lineamenti di storia antica*,
(ed. La scuola), pp. 326–8 (Picotti).

4. *Textbooks for technical institutes*

A. Brancati, *Fra Oriente e Occidente*, II,
(ed. La nuova Italia), pp. 61–62 (Brancati 1961).

Melzi d'Eril, Mandelli, Corrieri, *Il Fiume della storia*, II,
(ed. Scol. Mondadori), pp. 120–2 (Melzi d'Eril).

R. Morghen – I. Imberciadori, *Corso di storia di educazione civica*, II,
(ed. Palumbo), pp. 45–47 (Morghen).

A. Saitta, *Storia tecnica nella civiltà umana*,
(ed. Sansoni), pp. 66–67 (Saitta 1970).

5. *Textbooks for classical secondary schools and for teacher training centres*

M. Bendiscioli – A. Gallia, *Stati, Popoli culture*,
(ed. Mursia), pp. 56–57 (Bendiscioli).

00114

E. Dupre, *Italia e Europa, I,*
(ed. G. d'Anna), pp. 20–22 (Dupre).

G. Quazza, *Corso di Storia per I Licei,* I,
(ed. Petrini), pp. 22–23 (Quazza).

R. Villari, *Storia Mediaevale,*
(ed. Laterza), p. 14 (Villari).

00115

SUMMARY OF THE CASE-STUDY
ON
"THE PRESENTATION OF THE REFORMATION IN SCHOOL HISTORY TEXTBOOKS"

BY

DR IRMGARD HANTSCHE, ESSEN

00116

Before investigating and comparing the presentation of the history of the Reformation in history textbooks, it is necessary to state first of all which aspects are going to be studied. The analysis of the various textbooks, which will be presented in a case-study at the Louvain Symposium, will be based on the following ten points. Obviously, it cannot be claimed that these ten points cover all the important aspects of the problem of presenting Reformation history in school textbooks. They represent a personal choice. However, such a choice was inevitable, because the subject is so vast and complex, and because the twenty minutes allotted to this case-study are insufficient to allow one to cover the whole field.

1. *The presentation of the history of the Reformation should not be biased by denominational prejudices*

This does not only imply that all hostile remarks must be avoided; it should be remembered that omission can also lead to distortion. Textbooks therefore should try to present the points of view of all the parties involved in the religious struggle. This will enable the pupil to understand all sides of the question and teach him tolerance. This is particularly important in countries where the great majority of the population belong to a single denomination or in countries where the Roman Catholic or a Protestant Church is the established Church.

2. *Before dealing with the Reformation itself, textbooks should explain the history of the preceding period in so far as it reveals causes and presages of the Reformation*

Thus, the state of the Catholic Church in the late Middle Ages should be mentioned. It should be made clear that Luther was not the first and only person to realise the shortcomings of the Church and the necessity of reform. At least the attempts of Wycliffe, Hus, Savonarola and the Conciliar Movement should be mentioned.

00117

3. *The religious innovation of the 16th century should be studied in close connection with the other cultural movements of the time*

Textbooks should make it clear that in particular the secular outlook of the Renaissance and the new scholarship of Humanism played a vital part in arousing scepticism about the authority of the old Church and in propagating the Reformation. The expansion of human knowledge through geographical discovery and scientific experiment should also be seen in the context of the history of the Reformation. In short, this was a time of general, and not just of religious, change.

4. *The interdependence of religion and politics in the 16th and 17th centuries should be clearly stated*

The success of the Reformation cannot be understood without a knowledge of the political circumstances which were propitious and therefore played a vital role in the propagation of the new religious ideas. On the other hand, the influence of the religious innovation on politics should not be underestimated. Thus, textbooks should emphasise the close link between general history and church history during this period, and they should point out that, whereas ecclesiastical authority was declining, secular power was increasing.

5. *The social and economic implications of the Reformation should be discussed*

The economic and social problems which played a part in the history of the Reformation are neglected even more frequently in history textbooks than the interdependence of religion and politics. Pupils should be informed that the Reformation not only brought about religious innovations and political problems, but was also furthered by economic interests, increased and caused social unrest, and gave rise to new forms of political life and social organisation. In this context, mention should be made of the seizure of Church property by secular princes, the Peasants' War in Germany, and the republican and democratic tendencies in Puritan communities.

6. *It should be pointed out that the beginning of denominational pluralism was not synonymous with the introduction of toleration*

Textbooks should bring out the discrepancy between Luther's emphasis on the importance of personal conscience, and the fact that

00118

only the princes were granted religious freedom and that according to the maxim *cuius regio, eius religio* they could, and generally did, impose their choice upon their subjects. Furthermore, it should be stated that not only did the Catholic Church and Catholic princes persecute widely on religious grounds through the Inquisition, but also, in Protestant countries, Catholics and Nonconformists were persecuted.

7. *The study of national history should not lead to the neglect of Reformation tendencies and their results in other countries*

This does not just apply to the obvious cases where information about foreign history is needed to understand events of national history. (For example, the English Reformation cannot be understood without some knowledge of Reformation movements on the Continent.) Pupils should also learn something about affairs which are not directly connected with their national history, e.g. the beliefs, the organisation and position of Protestant Churches and communities in other countries, religious persecution and wars in Europe, and the emigration of religious refugees and its consequences for the countries concerned.

8. *Certain doctrinal questions should be touched upon in history textbooks*

In-depth discussion of the theological problems of the Reformation is the task of religious education and not of history teaching. Nevertheless, history teachers and history textbooks should touch upon the main doctrinal questions to explain which were the main issues of the Reformation, and why they succeeded in bringing about fundamental changes in all spheres of life. However, the validity of the doctrinal questions at issue should not be a matter for discussion.

9. *Narrative texts should be supplemented by documents*

Documents often demonstrate the impact of the Reformation on contemporaries better than a narrative text. By presenting various points of view, they can stimulate the pupils to perceive the complexity of the period and to develop their historical understanding. Unlike narrative texts, documents may express one-sided opinions, although these should be corrected either by other documents or by narrative texts.

00119

10. *Many aspects of the history of the Reformation can be made clearer by illustrations*

Only contemporary pictures should be selected. It is important that they should contain a message or tell a story. As portraits seldom do this, they should be used sparingly. Caricatures and polemical illustrations often reveal a great deal about the controversies of their time. They offer pupils not only an illustration of a historical event, but also a contemporary interpretation of it.

00120

SUMMARY OF THE CASE-STUDY
ON
"RELIGION AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT"

BY

PROFESSORS M. BATLLORI AND J. L. ORTEGA

00121

A. In Spain

1. *The general situation of secondary education in Spain*

Secondary education in Spain is at present undergoing a transition from the system established by the 1967 plan (previous plans date from 1953 and 1957) to the progressive application of the General Education Act, promulgated in 1970 and already partly in force.

This situation has the following consequences:

a. different curricula are simultaneously in use so that it is difficult to make absolute and uniform pronouncements;

b. the general impression is one of provisional or experimental arrangements;

c. this has a marked effect on school textbooks: in some cases those used under earlier curricula have been kept although adapted to present needs.

2. *History teaching in Spanish secondary education*

The place of history in Spanish secondary education is as follows:

– world history and Spanish history (ancient and medieval epochs): third year, age 13;

– world history and Spanish history (modern and contemporary): fourth year, age 14;

– art and cultural history: sixth year, age 16.

00122

Two observations should be made at this point:

1. During the university preparation year (COU = *Curso de Orientacion Universitaria*), the pupil returns to modern and contemporary history, though this time, under the new act, only as an optional subject.

2. Church history in particular was taught fairly thoroughly, since the third year of religious instruction (compulsory in all years) was entirely devoted to an overall view of church history. This has disappeared from the new curriculum: church history will be included in religious instruction in the form of witness-bearing, as it were, in accordance with the new catechetical approach to this subject.

3. *Observations on the presentation of 18th century history*

It may be deduced from the foregoing that Spanish secondary pupils study the 18th century in fourth year only, this being an optional subject in the COU year. Hence:

a. information provided on the 18th century is abbreviated;

b. this summary presentation and the provisional nature of current textbooks (in view of the numerous changes of school syllabuses) explains the absence in textbooks of the findings of recent historical research. For example there is no mention of Jansenism in Spain, nor of the positive features of the Enlightenment in this country;

c. the more or less habitual themes in the treatment of the 18th century in these textbooks are as follows: royal absolutism *(placet)*, the expulsion of the Jesuits, Encyclopedism, the Enlightenment, Freemasonry;

d. on the other hand the general religious history of 18th century Europe is usually neglected: Jansenism, Gallicanism, Febronianism, Josephism, Quietism etc. This also holds for the history of the Papacy;

e. this material is presented as a chronological list of facts since such textbooks are catalogues of facts rather than guides for historical thought;

f. a nationalist flavour subsists in certain textbooks in respect of the presentation of historical phenomena. For example: "in Spain as in other nations, Encyclopedism implied gallicisation. The one, being

00123

anti-Catholic, became anti-Spanish; the other, being anti-Spanish, became anti-Catholic."

B. *In France*

Between our first investigation of French textbooks in Brunswick and the drafting of this document, the 1969 reform of secondary education in France came into being.

From the point of view of 18th century history, the essential aspect of the legislation were as follows:

1. 18th century history was transferred from the third to fourth form syllabus with the consequence that textbooks have had to be adapted for use by pupils one year younger, often causing authors to simplify and reduce material;

2. It was transferred from textbooks covering the 18th and 19th centuries only (i.e. from 1715–1870) to textbooks dealing with the period from the Renaissance to the death of Louis XIV (16th, 17th and 18th centuries), which also entailed a reduction in the number of themes dealt with.

(Although this is generally true, certain textbooks written after 1969 give a greater place to the 18th century than those prior to this date.)

Consequently religious history has also been cut down in the most recent textbooks, with a few exceptions only.

One common feature of French textbooks dating from both before and after 1969 is that issues are treated as part of the history of civilisation, in the sense that political, economic, social, cultural and religious history are presented as part of a whole, although mutual influences are fortunately pointed out.

Certain differences between textbooks probably reflect the findings of the most recent research in the field of religious history. In general it is to be hoped that the insights provided by recent research will be widely used, as regards for example the Christian aspect of Enlightenment culture, the relationships between Jansenism, philo-Jansenism and Regalism, the opposition even from the

00124

religious point of view between the parliament of Paris and the regional parliaments in France, the desire for genuine ecclesiastical reform on the part of certain adherents of Josephism despite the absolutist and anti-canonical means employed.

In certain textbooks almost all the significant features of religious history were in evidence:

– scepticism and the religious spirit,

– Encyclopedism and Christianity,

– political absolutism and intolerance,

– Gallicanism and opposition to the Jesuits,

– the survival of Gallicanism in the civil constitution of the clergy,

– reform of education and traditionaiism in church schools,

– John Wesley and Methodism in England,

– Josephism in the Habsburg states,

– the clergy as a privileged class on the eve of the French Revolution.

00125

REPORT OF THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING GROUP

00126

I. Introduction

1. Our activities were much more concerned with religion in school history teaching than with religion in school history textbooks.

We distinguished between religious instruction and religious education. We spent some time in informing ourselves about some of the provisions for, and educational methods used in, religious education in some of the member states represented in the working party, with special reference to Sweden and to the United Kingdom Schools' Council project on religious education in secondary schools directed by Professor Smart.

We noted the great interest that can be developed in young people through religious education rather than the older forms of religious instruction. We agreed on the desirability of co-operation between history, religious education and the social sciences.

2. We considered the problems in dealing with religions as they showed themselves in history and in history teaching syllabuses. Special reference was made to the work of the Council of Europe in this field. We did not attempt a definition of religion, and were satisfied to accept it as "transcendental experience" showing itself in two ways:

a. in the thoughts, writings and actions of individual human beings who may have profoundly affected human affairs;

b. in the corporate institutions which have become the organised means of transmitting religious experience and teaching.

We felt that schemes of history teaching should not be so constructed as to avoid facing religious problems and activities altogether. It is not acceptable to shirk this complicated duty simply by ignoring the whole theme.

00127

3. We discussed the textbook situation in different countries within our working group. The situation ranged from carefully prescribed books on the one hand, through selection from lists of books, to more or less complete freedom to choose any or none on the other hand.

We discussed the educational weaknesses inherent in textbooks. We noted the work of the Council of Europe in textbook revision, and underlined that the agreements reached between French and German history teachers could serve as a model among other teachers in many varieties of situations.[1] We noted the development of resources kits or teaching units. These go a long way towards dealing with the fundamental question of history teaching, namely that history is a matter of learning how to find and to use historical evidence.

4. We discussed the problems of "objectivity" and decided that it was a word which it was better not to use. Either it has a Marxist meaning, or else it is not acceptable if its opposite is "subjectivity". Equally, we accepted the difficulties involved in the question of value judgements, and that it is difficult for a teacher to avoid them if he is to do his work properly. However, we realised that all history teachers are, by definition, involved and that, to the best of their ability, they should deal with the exposition of a book or the presentation of evidence as fairly, as honestly and as honourably as possible. We were convinced that history teaching could be, and indeed has been, used as a means of creating or perpetuating prejudice and error.

5. We decided to examine case-studies in which educational situations illustrating the religious element in history could be investigated. We realised that, if proposals about case-studies are to be meaningful, they must indicate the age group for which they are intended, and that they must deal with the theme of the present symposium. Above everything else we were concerned with making practicable proposals, which could be carried out within the educational circumstances in which the members of this group work. We also realised that such case-studies would be even more valuable if as many links as possible were established with teachers in such allied subjects as religious education or studies, social sciences, literature, geography etc.

---

1. The history of the Orthodox Churches and of the Byzantine era should always be treated in history teaching and in textbooks as fairly as that of all other Christian Churches. Equal honesty and fairness should be apparent in the treatment of Judaism and Islam; and perhaps a working partnership might be arranged for joint discussion of problems of mutual concern.

00128

II. *Preamble to the group's proposals*

1. The study of religions and philosophies in history can play a vital part in helping young people to find their identity, although it is no part of the work of the history teacher to deal with doctrinal questions except in a descriptive and non-denominational manner.

2. The study of religions and philosophies in history in the terms described in the above paragraph promotes better understanding between peoples of different cultures and beliefs.

3. These ideas should be adequately reflected in syllabuses and teaching resources.

III. *Proposals*

1. *Textbooks*

We recognised the value of the techniques for the analysis for the content of history textbooks developed by Professor d'Haenens's team. We felt that the findings and propositions of the team are valuable within the limits imposed by the number of books examined. We recommend that these techniques should be widely publicised so that this team, or other teams, can continue this work with the aim of making it representative of textbooks used in all the member states of the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe. Textbook authors and publishers should be kept informed of the results of such studies.

2. *Teaching packages*

We strongly recommend that the realisation of the case-studies mentioned above in Section I. 5 of this report should be carried out within the co-production scheme of the Committee for General and Technical Education of the Council for Cultural Co-operation. The member states of the Council for Cultural Co-operation and the other interested bodies represented at the present symposium should be invited to contribute, in every way possible, to make this scheme a success. The Council of Europe should commission the production of multi-media kits or teaching packages on the following themes, which

00129

have been chosen with regard to the age range of the pupils concerned:

a. for the 11—13 age group: the Crusades from the year 1080 to the year 1210 (cf. Professor d'Haenens's Propositions 2, 10 and 24);

b. for the 13—15 age group:

i. movements towards peace in Europe since 1815 (cf. pp. 103–106, *History Teaching and History Textbook Revision*);

ii. great religious thinkers of modern times;

iii. the Jews in 19th century Europe (cf. pp. 91 and 92, *History Teaching and History Textbook Revision);*

c. for the 15—19 age group:

i. the religious response to the challenges of modern European society;

ii. nationalism and religion in 19th and 20th century Europe;

iii. religion and science in 19th and 20th century Europe.

All educational media should be used in the preparation of these teaching packages, and special attention should be given to the expression of religious ideas in art, music, literature, architecture etc.

3. *Teaching training*

The history teacher should be helped to appreciate the different religious phenomena in history and be trained to deal with them in his or her teaching. This proposal implies no philosophical or religious judgement, but concerns historical evidence.

The links between the teaching process and the learning process must always be emphasised, particularly because of the need to understand, and to ensure, pupil motivation. This would involve a study of recent research into the ability of pupils of different ages to appreciate abstract ideas.

We wish to reaffirm most strongly the need for:

a. more teacher exchanges between the member states of the Council for Cultural Co-operation;

00130

b. increased participation at a European level in national in-service training seminars, for example, the project of the Committee for General and Technical Education to open up national in-service training courses to teachers from the other member states of the Council for Cultural Co-operation.

It is more important than ever that the Council of Europe should organise a symposium on the initial and continued training of history teachers.

00131

REPORT OF THE
FRENCH-SPEAKING GROUP

00132

The French-speaking group considered the report by Professor d'Haenens and his colleagues and was impressed by its comprehensiveness, precision and relevance. It took the report as a basis for its discussions, and it was mainly with reference to the propositions therein that it drew up the recommendations below.

I. THE PLACE OF RELIGION

"The space devoted to religion in textbooks is:

1. usually nil for the protohistoric era;

2. considerable for the Oriental civilisations in Antiquity;

3. greatest for the Middle Ages and 16th century;

4. very little, sometimes disappearing entirely, for the subsequent periods;

5. virtually nil after 1914" (Proposition 25).

"The cultural role of religion virtually disappears from textbooks after the end of the Middle Ages" (Proposition 19).

"In contemporary history, only the doctrinal and authoritarian aspects (Papal encyclicals) of religion are discussed" (Proposition 21).

In the light of the above, the French-speaking group made the following recommendations.

A. *Greek and Roman Antiquity*

Recognition should be given to the profound religiosity of the civilisations of Greek and Roman Antiquity.

00133

It is recommended that:

1. Care be taken not to select arbitrarily from the history of those civilisations those facts which match our present-day way of living and thinking.

2. Greek and Roman Antiquity be placed in its religious context: the most beautiful statues were usually votive offerings—Herodotus recognised that Homer and Hesiod had exerted a decisive influence on Greek religion. Religion is present in all spheres of private and political life. The Greek sciences, such as mathematics and medicine, developed in a religious context. The schools of philosophy themselves took the form of religious brotherhoods. Romans viewed their history from a religious standpoint, as being a sacred history.

From the 7th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. three main periods are discernible:

1. The age of the city-state in Greece up to the Macedonian conquest and of the Roman Republic up to the end of the second Punic war was a period of intense religiosity.

2. The Hellenistic period was marked by relative secularisation (cult of sovereigns, herofication).

3. Late Antiquity (3rd and 4th centuries) was a period of religious revival. It is recommended that the "glorious period" of the early Empire should no longer be contrasted with the "decadent period" of the later Empire. "No historian worthy of the name could now consider, as did the empiricist Gibbon, the greatness of a thinker such as Plotinus or the triumph of Christianity as symptomatic of decadence and the rise of barbarianism" (H. Marrou).

B. *Two periods of modern history*

1. *The Reformation*

1. The history of the previous period should be so presented that the Reformation appears as an historical event which occurred after a long period of gestation. It is natural to mention the situation of the Catholic Church at the end of the Middle Ages and to refer to the attempts of Wycliffe, Jan Hus, Savonarola and the Conciliar Movement. At the end of the 15th century, a period of deep faith, the Church no longer adequately met the needs of believers.

00134

2. The religious innovations of the 16th century should be studied in close connection with the other cultural trends of the time (Great Discoveries, Renaissance, Humanism).

3. Attention should be given to the Reformation doctrines and to the fundamental changes they caused in all spheres of life.

4. The interpendence of religion and politics and of religion and economic and social questions should be clearly shown.

5. Reformational trends and their results in other countries should not be neglected for the sake of national history.

6. It should be pointed out that religious pluralism has not always increased tolerance. The princes were able to impose this or that religion on their subjects. The Catholic Church and Catholic princes were the cause of much religious persecution; Catholics and Non-conformists were the victims of similar treatment in the Protestant countries.

7. Texts and pictures relating to the period can provide pupils not only with an illustration of the historical event but also with a contemporary interpretation of it and an idea of its true significance.

2. *The 18th century*

The facts of religious history should be treated from a European standpoint. Religious movements continued to have an international dimension in the 18th century. Specific examples of their development in this or that country can be given afterwards. It would be desirable for the following to be given more balanced treatment:

– the development of a critical spirit without any impairment of religious sensibility (a study of wills shows the size of donations made to the Church);

– the relationship between Encyclopaedism and Christianity;

– the part played by political absolutism in religious intolerance;

– the relationship between absolutism, Gallicanism and opposition to the Jesuits;

– Pietism and Methodism in England;

– Josephism and the desire for genuine religious reform.

00135

C. *Contemporary history*

Surprise may be expressed that religion should have disappeared almost entirely from most textbooks (−1 %) and from contemporary history syllabuses. Although religious pluralism and secularisation have developed in most European countries, an important place should nevertheless be given to religion in the history of the 19th and 20th centuries.

1. First of all, the Churches have had to face various major revolutionary ideologies—the nationalistic and liberal movements of the 19th century, the 20th century movements in favour of economic and social equality. The Churches and religious circles played an important part in the national revival movements (for example, the Italian Risorgimento up to 1848, Polish nationalism, the Arab and Islamic Renaissance) but they resisted the liberal and socialist trends before recognising them. The Churches have, therefore, been present in all the major struggles of their time. Vatican I and Vatican II, like the ecumenical movement as reflected in the World Council of Churches in particular, are among the fundamental events of contemporary history.

2. Sufficient attention should also be paid to the pioneers of liberal and social Christianity and to those groups of believers who were the first to be receptive to the major changes of their age and wanted to adopt them in a spirit of Christian charity. Their efforts as an avant-garde should be of interest to young people—an avant-garde that was sometimes sacrificed, but also sometimes supported, after much delay and evasiveness, when the Churches came to adapt themselves to modern times. Attention should also be given to the part played by religious minorities, particularly the Jewish communities, in the development of contemporary culture.

3. Historical, sociological and geographical studies of religious practice or of the relationship between religious convictions and political life are always of great interest to young people, whether or not they are believers.

4. The European adventure of the discovery and material conquest of the world was accompanied (or even preceded) by extensive missionary work.

5. In the past twenty-five years, the Churches and, in particular, certain groups of believers have repeatedly, in various ways, inspired and supported efforts to make the world more just and peaceful.

00136

II. TREATMENT OF RELIGION

1. "Few textbooks give an explicit, coherent and rational definition of religion and the religious phenomenon" (Proposition 4).

2. "The transcendental side of religion—man's relationship to the Divinity and after-life—are generally given only secondary importance" (Proposition 5).

3. "Where Antiquity is concerned, there is a tendency to stress the spectacular and anecdotal aspects of religion" (Proposition 7).

4. "The importance attached to the religious aspects of history is proportionate to their temporal influence. Religions appear in the narrative when they constitute a political force" (Proposition 8).

5. "Religion tends to be reduced to its institutional aspect, and the institutional aspect to the vicissitudes of the higher levels of the hierarchy" (Proposition 9).

6. "Analysis of the religious phenomenon often comes down to analysis of the crises of religious institutions and their conflict situations. Emphasis is laid on the power relationships which arise within the Catholic Church, between the various religious institutions and between religious and political institutions. In the end, the aspect of transcendental reality never predominates" (Proposition 11).

7. "There is a tendency, for all periods, when discussing the potential political, cultural and social role of religion, to stress its unifying and centralising function" (Proposition 12).

The group did not try to define the term "religion" but recommended that the Council of Europe entrust this task to scholars, historians, theologians, philosophers, sociologists and psychologists who alone are qualified to define the term in all its dimensions—its fundamental nature, its origin, its manifestations and its consequences for man and humanity. The group did, however, tackle its task of drawing some practical conclusions which might provide secondary school history teachers with much needed help in organising a suitable lesson on religion in a given period and in a given part of the world. It accordingly prepared for a limited functional purpose, a provisional *pragmatic description of the religious phenomenon*. In other words, to help teachers to overcome the various difficulties, it laid down a temporary gang-plank pending the building of a permanent bridge.

00137

When dealing with religious phenomena, a teacher should consider three different aspects: that of the individual, that of the more or less organised community, and that of their influence on the various fields of social life.

Religion presupposes a relationship between man and the Divinity, a faith, a system of beliefs and dogmas which express a conception of human destiny and give man a positive synthesis of his own contradiction (of which the most important is death).

Religion also consists of piety, devoutness and a system of practices performed in company with other believers in places of worship.

Religion, which never ceases to have a direct or indirect influence, is usually organised—particularly in the Christian world—in the form of an institution, with assemblies, a hierarchy and a government; it gives birth to a Church.

Whether individual or collective, religion has close reciprocal links with:

1. the political sphere: relations with the state, direct or indirect participation in political life;

2. the economic sphere: for example, the Churches have considerable incomes which they devote to welfare services, charitable works, the arts etc.; certain moral doctrines of the Churches have had effects on the course of economic history;

3. the cultural field: painting, sculpture, architecture and literature endeavour to sustain the believer in his personal faith, in his membership of a religious community and a Church.

Although this is the ideal of certain sects, the Church cannot be isolated in an ivory tower. Religion has never ceased to influence the course of events . . . and vice versa. A study of the Church's inevitable relationship with temporal power should not preclude a study of faith in its individual and collective manifestations. The historian should never lose sight of Christian society which goes far beyond the history of hierarchies (cf. the sociological studies of Gabriel Le Braz).

Teachers ought to lay emphasis on the causes of a heresy rather than on the acute conflicts it engendered; they should show that conflicts are simply tragic manifestations of deeply spiritual values and that they usually occur only because doctrinal confrontations degenerate and the political aspect prevails over the spiritual one. The same applies to religious wars: some examples may be given to

00138

show their atrociousness (as in any civil war), but what matters most is to analyse their causes, which are not all spiritual in nature, and show the exemplariness of solutions which restore peace and enable tolerance to triumph.

Lastly, the value of centralisation and regionalisation depends on circumstances. Did Spain really benefit from the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors and, if so, in what way? Rightly, the French people praised the Edict of Nantes, which led to peaceful co-existence between Catholics and Protestants, and subsequently condemned the revocation thereof proclaimed in the name of unifying centralisation. At certain times, national unity may be a supreme advantage; at others, pluralism may be highly beneficial.

III. THE CHURCH AND POSSESSIONS AND PRIVILEGES

"The religious calling is associated with possessions and privileges:

1. in Antiquity, Egypt and Greece (Delphi) provide examples;

2. in the Middle Ages, although those who helped organise civic life may be presented, the clergy are usually depicted as energetically exploiting and acquiring property, rights and privileges" (Proposition 13).

In certain historical circumstances, the religious calling and religious institutions coincided with possessions and privileges. It is recommended that account be taken of the function of these possessions and privileges. In spite of excessive wealth in various places and at various times, possessions and even privileges should be regarded as functional assets—promotion of worship, health, education, assistance and charity.

Emphasis should be laid on the spiritual and cultural role of religions, not only on their economic role.

IV. RELIGION AND DOMINANT POWERS

1. "Religion is presented, under the *ancien régime*, as consecrating ideologies and dominant powers" (Proposition 16).

00139

2. "When portrayed, the village priest appears in modern times as a social worker helping to remedy the deficiencies of the state" (Proposition 20).

It is important to stress both aspects of the ecclesiastical institution—the civil function and the religious one—as well as their interaction. Attention should also be drawn to any differences between one country and another—there is no uniformity; and care should be taken to avoid anachronisms—the assumption by the state of responsibility for civil functions which were formerly handled by the Church is a modern conception.

V. RELIGION AND INTOLERANCE

"Religion as an instrument of tolerance or intolerance appears in all periods; however, in modern times, this function is particularly stressed in connection with tensions between Protestants and Catholics" (Proposition 14).

Many religions which essentially bear a message of love and understanding have helped to disseminate the idea of tolerance. However, in the name of religion, men sometimes allow themselves to become intolerant, either towards co-religionists who think differently from themselves or towards adherents of other religions.

There cannot be any question of accepting this intolerance, which was formerly considered as a virtue and even as a condition of survival, within the religion itself. It should, however, be explained in the light of:

1. *the historical context.* The idea of religious pluralism, already present in ancient times, gained considerable ground in modern times, in Europe, with the humanist movement, the recognition of human rights and the political trends towards freedom, enabling the inspiration of the original Christian message to be regained;

2. *the sociological context.* Intolerance is by no means confined to the purely religious sphere. A society which feels that its unity is threatened tends to become intolerant.

VI. RELIGIONS IN A PREFERENTIAL ORDER

"Religions are usually evaluated on the basis of cultural and intellectual patterns.

00140

The cultural patterns take the form (often implicit) of a scale of cultural values, graded as follows:

1. Monotheism

   1.1 Roman Catholicism in the Middle Ages, culminating under Innocent III;

   1.2 The various forms of Protestantism, regarded by authors with a Latin cultural background as Germanic expressions, more or less aberrant, of an essentially Latin and, above all, Roman religion;

   1.3 Judaism, as a source of Catholic monotheism;

2. Polytheism

   2.1 Greek polytheism, preferably Hellenistic;

   2.2 Other polytheistic cultures.

The intellectual pattern emphasises unity at the expense of diversity, the centre at the expense of the periphery, the universal at the expense of the particular" (Proposition 24).

European forms of Christianity (Catholicism, Protestantism, Orthodoxy) are naturally given privileged treatment in history textbooks in Europe. However, sight should not be lost of the specific part played by non-majority religions (Judaism, Islam) and their considerable contribution to the development of Western culture (particularly in the field of philosophical thought). Judaism and Islam should therefore be accorded the attention they deserve, failing which our recommendations would merely confirm the monolithic nature of current textbooks, in contradiction to the open-mindedness and ecumenicism which characterise the intellectual outlook of our age.

The great religions of Asia should also be given the attention they merit.

If, in educational terms, one can only approve the method which consists in proceeding from the well-known and the familiar to the more remote and the unknown and if, consequently, it is natural for a historical study of religion to take the dominant religion of pupils' own cultural and social environment as the main point of reference, this in no way means that the other faiths or religions should be treated disparagingly or negatively.

00141

VII. RELIGION AND VALUE JUDGEMENTS

"The value ascribed to a religion by any author may be either implicit or explicit. Implicit, through the presentation chosen, the actual importance attached to religious information and the function attributed to religion in the text. Explicit, through value judgements. Explicit and unequivocal declarations, clearly indicating to the reader the attitude of the author(s) to religion, are uncommon" (Proposition 23).

Teachers should be warned against the explicit or implicit value judgements which are liable to accompany the selection set out in paragraph VI, either because the religion or faith is seen as the norm or because it becomes the target of one-sided criticism.

A history teacher's attitude towards religions should not in any event be that of an apologist or a detractor. He should guard against consciously or unconsciously projecting present or personal values into the past, thereby making them anachronistic. He should place religion in its historical context, this being the only way to treat it with maximum impartiality. He should also endeavour to approach religion with great tact and respect and with a constant concern to avoid offending his pupils' consciences. It is desirable that, in the case of religious belonging to bygone eras or to other cultural spheres, he should show not only their original or specific features but also what they have in common with the religions currently practised in the pupils' own country.

VIII. RECOMMENDATIONS ON THE PLACE OF RELIGIONS IN HISTORY SYLLABUSES

If the syllabus is not laid down in detail from year to year and the teacher is allowed some freedom of choice, he may devote his lessons to the detailed history of a religion, according to his pupils' interests or his own interest in such subjects. This is the "sample" method of teaching.

If history teaching is approached from a thematic standpoint and the syllabus is clearly defined, the subject of religions may be adopted as one of the themes.

If the syllabus remains faithful to continuous history, the latter should be dealt with in lengthy periods, and the teacher should be able to dwell on this or that characteristic era and give attention to its civilisation, of which religion is necessarily a component. Religion

00142

should not be relegated to an appendix. The study may be made from a social standpoint; in the case of the Middle Ages, for example, attention may be given successively to the nobility in its castles, the Church in its cathedrals and monasteries, the middle classes in the towns and the peasants in the countryside. Rather than this social approach, it would seem preferable, particularly in the case of pupils in lower secondary schools, to show how people lived at the time, how they satisfied their fundamental needs—housing, food, clothing, education, religion etc. It would thus be possible to deal more adequately with the various aspects of religion, which at the secondary level is all too often considered solely from the institutional standpoint of a Church.

Having regard to the complexity of the religious phenomenon and the need to help teachers, the members of the French-speaking group advocate that machinery be set up for the purposes of promoting closer contacts between teachers and those engaged in academic research and collaborating with international institutions or bodies capable of furnishing supplementary information. They emphasise once more the urgent need for a Council of Europe symposium on initial training (both academic and professional) and further training for teachers who will have the task of putting our recommendations into practice.

00143

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS
ADOPTED AT THE
FINAL PLENARY SESSION

00144

The subject of our symposium was difficult. During the discussions, it became apparent that it was more difficult than had been thought beforehand. This was why the participants decided not to define the term "religion". They felt that this task should be carried out by scholars: historians, theologians, philosophers, sociologists etc. They confined themselves to a description of the religious phenomenon or to an enumeration of its main components: a relationship between man and a reality which goes beyond him, reflected in a belief, an ethic, and rites; a community which groups the supporters of these convictions and behaviour, and which provides itself with a more or less developed form of organisation; and activity by these individuals and this community in the different sectors of social life. It was with this pragmatic point of view in mind that the participants addressed the following recommendations to the Council of Europe:

1. The solution of scientific and pedagogical problems raised by the adequate treatment of the religious phenomenon in history textbooks calls for various sorts of co-operation:

– between the world of research and that of teaching. The relationship should be reciprocal. Scholars should place the results of their research in a convenient form at the disposal of secondary school teachers, and the latter should ask scholars questions. Most frequently, co-operation will be necessary between scholars and teachers, especially in the preparation of periodicals like *Geschichte in Wissenschaft und Unterricht* and in the examination of the case-studies and the preparation of teaching packages of the type proposed in the report of the English-speaking group. The question of the form which this co-operation could or should take remains open. It would be desirable if the Council for Cultural Co-operation were to facilitate this co-operation within the limits of its possibilities;

– between the CCC and the International Committee of Historical Sciences as well as national associations of history teachers;

– between teachers whose subjects touch on the religious phenomenon, in particular between teachers of history, religion, and other human sciences;

00145

– between the teachers of the various member states of the CCC in the form of exchanges or participation in refresher courses.

2. The analysis carried out by Professor d'Haenens and his team should be continued, according to the same method, for other countries and other sets of textbooks. The results should be published.

3. In all periods, religion has been a major component of society. To avoid teaching it on whatsoever pretext and for whatsoever period is to be lacking in historical truth. Consequently, it is inadmissible that religion should have disappeared almost completely from most of the textbooks examined by Professor d'Haenens (less than 1 %) and from contemporary history syllabuses. The development of pluralism and secularisation has not deprived it of significance in the 19th and 20th centuries.

4. The religious phenomenon should always be presented in all its aspects. One should not limit oneself to an analysis of structures or to a problem of relationship with the political authority. Without doubt, it is necessary to take account of the various forms in which religion is embodied in space and time, through the activity of the individuals and social forces which influence the interpretation of the religious message and its insertion into temporal matters. Religion does not stand apart from the world of men. It is undoubtedly necessary to adapt the presentation to the mental age of the students by taking account of recent research into the ability of pupils of different ages to appreciate abstract ideas. This may lead one to place emphasis on one or another aspect, but there can be no question of confining oneself to the "structural" and "political influence" aspect, or even of maintaining a privileged place for this aspect.

5. Religion has always gone beyond the specifically religious field. Many works of art and other undertakings, individual or collective, have been inspired, consciously or unconsciously, by religion. The most beautiful Greek statues were usually votive offerings. Mediaeval research into optics was stimulated by the concept of God as "Light". To show and explain this action, it is necessary not to limit oneself to presenting the specific and original features of each historical setting, but to give a description of this setting which covers all the components, including those which are traditional, as is often the case for the religious component.

6. Educational theory advises us to proceed from the known to the unknown and therefore to take, for special reference in the historical study of the religious phenomenon, the predominant faith in the pupil's environment. The history teacher should not present one faith

00146

as being superior to all others, all the more superior in that the other faiths are distant in space and more different in dogma and practice. If the textbooks used in Western Europe accordingly devote a pre-eminent place to European forms of Christanity (Catholicism, Protestantism, Orthodoxy), they should not lose sight of the role of other religions (Judaism, Islam) and their contribution to the development of European culture. They will thus serve historical truth as well as contributing towards a spirit of open-mindedness and ecumenism.

7. Textbook authors and teachers must avoid value judgements, either explicit or implicit, and they should not turn religion into a norm or a target. They should be neither apologists nor detractors. They must avoid projecting back into the past present-day or personal values which would be anachronistic. They also have a duty to tackle the religious phenomenon with tact and respect. They should have constant concern not to offend the conscience of their pupils.

8. It is desirable to show in the religions of the past and other cultural spheres not only their original aspects but also what they have in common with the religions which are being practised today in the country where one is teaching.

9. It was not the task of the symposium to draw up a list of errors, distortions, omissions and clichés which mar textbooks, but the symposium wishes that developments devoted by these textbooks to the religious phenomenon should be the subject of a joint examination by scholars from various subjects, members of different faiths, and agnostics.

10. Secondary school teachers will be unable to present the religious phenomenon if they are not introduced to it during their training in the same way, for example, as they are introduced to political economy to enable them to understand and present economic phenomena.

The desire that account should be taken of this point in the syllabuses which determine their training would therefore meet the frequently expressed wish that the CCC should organise a symposium on the scientific and pedagogic initial training and in-service training of future secondary school history teachers.

00147

APPENDIX A

REPORT ON A COURSE
ON
"RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN ASIA"
HELD IN LONDON FROM 4 to 7 JULY 1972

SUBMITTED BY
MR E. O'CONNOR
ORGANISER OF EXTRAMURAL STUDIES,
SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES,
LONDON UNIVERSITY

00148

Background note

The course was attended by fifty secondary school teachers and college lecturers concerned either with the teaching of religious studies or of history. The aim was to consider the inter-action of religion and society, and lecturers were deliberately drawn from a number of different disciplines in the hope of gaining different insights and perspectives.

Introduction

Asia has no geographical unity and even its division into areas tends to be a reflection of Western, strategic, concepts; nor has it a cultural or linguistic unity. Yet in Britain and the West it has been usual in the past to ascribe to it some scale of values which is distinctly Asian. Jean Herbert, for example, in *Introduction to Asia* (1955) argues the existence of such a cultural unity derived from a distinct values system characterised by a stress on the religious and spiritual aspects of life, and by a desire to harmonise opposites. In contrast, J. N. Steadman in *The Myth of Asia* (1970) argues that the belief in an Asian mentality is a result of certain misconceptions derived from a merging of views taken from different areas at different times, from popular religion or from strict orthodoxy. He distinguishes three major cultures, the Islamic, the Hindu-Buddhist (Buddhism being in effect an outgrowth of Hinduism and sharing with it many characteristics) and the Confucian. These could be taken as one possible framework for the study of the major traditional societies of Asia although, inevitably, one might tend to exaggerate the differences between them, and additional difficulties arise in treating the modern period when very different factors come into play which cut across the traditional cultural boundaries. Again, if one were to make an approach through a patch treatment to suggest something of the nature of Asian development, while many different sets of topics could be selected, no list could omit topics concerned with the origins and development of these three major cultures. Again, one would need to indicate by the approach and the selection something of the contrast between the ideal and the practice of the religions concerned.

Judaism

Before considering these major divisions, one session was given to Judaism, Rabbi Pavey suggesting that Judaism in Western Asia must be considered in the context of the modern history of Western Europe. This had seen a reintegration of Jews with the societies around them resulting from the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars and the scholarly reappraisal which accompanied this change brought an awareness that Judaism had developed dynamically out of its historical experience including the experience of the Christian Schism and the Islamic influence of the later Middle Ages. The change has also been characterised by a continuing and painful crisis of

00149

identity and the possibility of assimilating this has been put back by the new crises of the twentieth century coupled with the modern political experience of Israel. The problems are more intractable in Israel than in the Diaspora as much of the founding experience came from Eastern Europe and there is a continuing conflict between the needs of the secular state and of a pre-modern religion.

Islam and world culture—Islam, law and society in the Middle East—Village society in Pakistan

In considering Islam and world culture, Professor Holt traced its development from an ethnic religion into a great synthesis. It derived an inheritance which was tribal, an inheritance from Judaism and from Christianity with a similar linear view of history and a heritage from Hellenism, the movement of translation from the 9th to 10th centuries of works of philosophy, science, mathematics and medicine serving as intermediaries of Hellenism to Western Europe. Islam developed as a universal faith, as a great system of law and as a community with an elaborate theology but characterised by right action rather than right belief. In contrast to Christianity, it developed as an infallible community and with no development of a conciliar system. The impact of the West on the Islamic world in the 18th and 19th centuries affected the community of Islam as represented in the great Islamic Empires and also the law and the faith of Islam. It was a challenge from the West as it emerged from the Enlightenment of the 18th century and the conflicts between faith and reason and between religion and science were transferred to Islam with an essential difference. The conflict in Islam was between traditional religion and an essentially alien "reason" leading to the responses of Islamic modernism attempting to reconcile the two systems of thought and to Islamic rigourism expressed in historical terms.

Professor Coulson considered the role of law as a social force in the Muslim way of life and the central issue of law reform in the modern Middle East. Shari'a law represents a search for an ideal to which society should try to conform in contrast to the West where law grows out of society. But new codes based on Western models have been introduced and accepted and Shari'a law as now practised is largely confined to family and to the law of inheritance. Here, too, the effect of the breakdown of the extended family system in urban areas and the changing role of women has changed the allegedly immutable law, with jurists claiming the right to reinterpret texts in the light of modern social conditions.

At grass roots level Mr Russell examined Islamic village society in Pakistan with the reservation that many features are similar to other village societies in India and outside the subcontinent. It is based on a family system which is hierarchical and authoritarian, a complex society where conduct is regulated by what is expected and many of the social, cultural and political attitudes inculcated carry over to urban society. In education, emphasis is placed on the history of Islam including Mughal rule in India, thus reinforcing attitudes to the non-Muslims of the sub-continent. This chauvinistic spirit battles with the mystic or "Sufi" tradition which dominates poetry and folk literature, yet the sense of being a Muslim prevails and there is a deep sense of historical and cultural unity. But the Muslim village also has a clear caste distinction, some of its features deriving from the Hindu caste system.

A modern movement in Hinduism – Hindu art and religion

Mrs Hayley developed the point that the past also forms the attitude of Hindus to Muslims as many of the converts to Islam when Muslims arrived

00150

in the sub-continent came from the lowest Hindu castes. She emphasised that throughout India's history religion has been the most powerful factor in the development of her civilisation and stressed the importance of *Hinduism* as the world's oldest living religion embraced by diverse peoples yet adapting through successive raj's and absorbing many revolutions. Srinavas has claimed that without caste there is no Hindu and the social aspects of Hinduism are reflected in the caste system with the belief in reincarnation providing powerful moral justification. There is social mobility in the middle range castes but this is group mobility and, in a sense, caste unites because it divides. An interesting modern development is the revival in Assam of the Bhakti movement, originally an 11th century reformation within Hinduism involving Krishna, a god of concern. The modern movement can be seen in terms of changes in the structure of Indian society stemming from the spread of education and the franchise, and with the idea of monotheism supported by Western ideas. It is arguable that the caste structure has not hindered economic development and, certainly, castes are no longer economic units but have become secularised pressure groups with political movements reinforcing caste values. While modernisation and urbanisation are effecting changes, it is characteristic of India and of Hinduism that change is rationalised by reference back to the past.

Dr Marr considered the relationship between Hindu art and religion and showed that from the Indian aesthetic standpoint art is indivisible, literature, music, painting, sculpture and architecture all providing a unified body of expression. The various facets of art are expressive of religious belief with a formalism which is the reverse of the naturalistic and is in marked contrast to post-Renaissance developments in the West. Modern art and literature, however, also have secular themes which are alien to the tradition.

Buddhism in Burma—Art and religion in Indonesia—Religion and society in Thailand

The conference then moved to a series of themes relating to south-east Asia, a great frontier zone in which the cultures of both India and China met and inter-penetrated to be followed by the later impact of Islam and of the West. Professor Hla Pe considered the historical spread of Buddhism to south-east Asia and the three fundamental concepts of Reincarnation, *Karma* and *Nirvana*. He emphasised, as did later speakers, the syncretic nature of Buddhism in south-east Asia, tinted with Hinduism from which it had developed and with animism surviving from earlier periods. The Buddhist lives not only for the life hereafter but also for this world and the recognition of this dichotomy is essential for an understanding of his personality and of the society of which he forms a part. The dichotomy and the syncretic nature of Buddhism in Burma and elsewhere in south-east Asia can be seen clearly from a consideration of the family and of religious practice at village level. In Burma, the importance of Buddhism and something of its practice can also be seen in a study of the nationalist movement prior to independence and of subsequent political developments. In turn, Mr Christie illustrated from a study of art and architecture how Java has successfully absorbed many other peoples and many other religions, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam, turning them into something totally Javanese. Professor Simmonds emphasised the need to consider Buddhism in psychological terms and in the context of society if one is not to be left with a set of incoherences. Many of the precepts held, for example the five precepts, are those which any non-anarchic society must hold. The part of the great tradition which reaches most people in Thailand is the life of the Buddha, and Buddhism in practice means the stories handed down and the involvement in activities. Stress is placed on the observance of respect to the Buddha himself, the Buddhist law and the order of

00151

the monks, and this was illustrated from an ordination ceremony showing the position of monks in the society and the integration of religion and society. He also considered the historical relationship of religion and the state in Thailand.

Chinese religion and society—Japanese religion and society.

Moving to east Asia, Dr Baker stressed that most of the major religions have had an impact on China at various times, particularly Mahayana Buddhism. Taoism, a native Chinese religion and partly a quietist philosophy, later became influenced by Buddhism and developed a pantheon of gods. China also had a state religion which is usually meant when Confucianism is referred to as a religion. The Emperor represented Chinese society to heaven giving rise to the concept of the Heavenly Mandate, a doctrine which in turn gave sanction to rebellion. The majority of Chinese were neither Buddhist nor Taoist but subscribed to what might be called Chinese religion bringing together not only various religious practices stemming from Buddhism and Taoism but also from the Confucian ethic and mixed with ancestor worship, animistic beliefs and geomancy. Ancestor worship as it developed was stressed by the state as a means of organising society. Confucianists had produced a theoretical system of human relationships to which the Chinese subscribed as an ideal system. The religious and social systems were linked, ancestor worship giving religious sanction to the reciprocal social relationship and arguing their continuance after death in a continuum from infinity to infinity. Basically in China there was a total system of the practice of religion but not of belief and it exemplifies the complexity of religious systems which do not have a common theoretical basis. Such a system did not provide a substantial barrier to the fundamental change which came with the establishment of the Chinese People's Republic in 1949.

Professor Dunn indicated the different forms of religion which have influenced Japan: Shinto, the basic Japanese religion; Buddhism and Confucianism, both of which came to Japan as part of the cultural borrowing from China, the Confucian ethic inspiring the government particularly in the Tokugawa period; Christianity; the new religions starting from 1830 but flourishing since 1945 and derived from Shinto or, in the case of Soko Gakkai, from Buddhism. The majority of people lived their lives in terms of traditional observance, of the year's round of ceremonials and rituals, using Shinto shrines for births and weddings but turning to Buddhism for death as Shinto abhors pollution. It is arguable, however, that the real Japanese religion stemmed from the interlocking nature of Japanese society and the belief in Japan itself partly arising from the fact that she is an island nation and that she was cut off from the rest of the world for three hundred years. But it should be emphasised that there have been considerable changes in Japanese society since the war with growing urbanisation and changes in family patterns, and the new religions represent one reaction to modern conditions.

The teaching of world religions

In discussing the teaching of world religions, Mr Woodward emphasised the need for a variety of approaches through the secondary school. He argued that while methods will vary with age and ability levels, a study in depth is necessary to avoid producing stereotypes. A study could be made of one non-Christian religion in some depth or an approach through themes was possible. Again a theme could be taken in order to study a particular religion. An area study could provide a consideration through an integrated approach of the history, culture, belief and practice; in this context, India is a particularly good area to select, one where many world cultures have met and mixed. The comparative technique is difficult and one needs to have prior knowledge

00152

of what is being compared; again, this emphasises the need to avoid superficiality. Other related issues which need to be faced concern aims, including the nature of commitment.

Discussion

Discussion centred round certain questions—the relative difficulties of teaching about different religions; whether the approach should be through society or religion; whether one should concentrate on the high culture, the ideal, or the practice, or both; whether there is any greater imaginative or intellectual effort required in achieving an understanding of another society or culture than in achieving an understanding of Western society and culture at a different historical period; whether any real understanding of another culture can be achieved without learning the relevant language; the availability of suitable books and materials.

By taking an area approach or by selecting two contrasting areas, both the ethical system and society can be studied. The dichotomy between theory and practice can be perplexing but both should be considered and neither can be studied adequately without placing them in their historical and geographical contexts.

Taking Islam as an example, one might approach it by stressing its importance in the context of world history—the cultural heritage, rise and geographical spread of a new world civilisation; as a model to demonstrate the importance of religion; the creation of a new Arab and Muslim system in the Middle East replacing the old Roman and Persian authority. The interaction at different times with the West could also be considered. Gibb's *Mohammedanism* and *Modern Trends in Islam*, *The Cambridge History of Islam*, Bernard Lewis's *The Arabs in History* and *The Middle East and the West* and Norman Daniel's *Islam, Europe and Empire* are a few examples of excellent books on the theme.

It is necessary to consider both classical and popular Islam, as any devout Muslim must be reminded in his daily life of High Islam. An approach showing the contrast between the ideal and the practice by taking two contrasting areas is found in a stimulating book by Clifford Geertz, *Islam Observed*.

For obvious reasons, Judaism and Islam are more easily handled than Hinduism, Buddhism, and Chinese and Japanese religions. R. F. Gombrich has treated Buddhism in a similar way to Geertz's study of Islam contrasting precept and practice in Ceylon.

South-east Asia as an area is less easily covered than either east or south Asia although G. Coedes's *The Making of South East Asia* is a masterly introduction while C. Fisher's *South East Asia* is an excellent social and political geography which can be commended to teachers of history. An approach through a consideration of the society can be found in books such as R. Burling's *Hill Farms and Padi Fields: Life in Mainland South East Asia*, M. Nash's *The Golden Road to Modernity: Village Life in Contemporary Burma* and J. E. De Young's *Village Life in Modern Thailand*.

For China and Japan a great range of material is available covering the Great Tradition. Again, to give only a very few examples, E. O. Reischauer and J. K. Fairbank, *East Asia: The Great Tradition*, E. O. Reischauer, J. K. Fairbank and A. M. Craig, *East Asia: The Modern Transformation*, W. T. De Barry's *Sources of the Chinese Tradition* and R. Tsunoda (ed.), *Sources of Japanese Tradition;* A. Waley's *Three Ways of Thought in Ancient China* and R. Dawson (ed.), *The Legacy of China*. There is less suitable material for the

00153

approach to religion and society taken by Dr Baker and Professor Dunn although C. K. Yang's *Religion in Chinese Society* is relevant. For Japan, there is an excellent chapter in J. W. Hall and R. K. Beardsley's *Twelve Doors to Japan* while Ruth Benedict's *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*, written by a cultural anthropologist, is required reading for anyone interested in Japanese ethics and behaviour patterns. The Batsford "Everyday Life" series is also useful, while there are new sets of visual material available including one on Chinese religion by H. D. R. Baker published by Hulton.

Popular and social Hinduism would pose less difficulties than philosophic Hinduism although some consideration of the latter could be introduced with senior forms, and aspects of devotional Hinduism could be included as an aspect of popular Hinduism. This is not to denigrate the religion, as most Hindus themselves will not come to grips with philosophic Hinduism. Terminology is difficult but here, as for other religions, Professor Geoffrey Parrinder's *A Dictionary of Non-Christian Religions* (Hulton, 1971) is extremely useful. Again, considering it in a historical and social context one could study the shaping of Hindu India, the impact of British rule and the reform movements in Hinduism (and Islam) brought about by the Western impact. Examples of different types of books for the teacher covering various aspects of the subject are A. L. Basham's superb *The Wonder that was India;* R. C. Zaehner (ed.), *Hinduism* and the recent *Hinduism* edited by J. R. Hinnells and E. J. Sharpe in the "World Religions in Education" series; Percival Spear's *India in Modern History* in which he stresses that neither politics nor war provides a key to the meaning of Indian history but that in society and culture are to be found the processes which give significance to India's past and its present; Charles H. Heimsath's *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform* in which he examines the relationship between the three major areas of intellectual endeavour in the modern history of India, religion, nationalism and social reform; Donald Smith, *India as a Secular State*. All historical periods and topics are covered in a splendid historiographical essay in the October 1969 edition of *South Asian Review* (J. B. Harrison "The Rulers and the Ruled").

It is useful to supplement such approaches by novels, autobiography and biography, by good travel books (not necessarily contemporary) and by films. To take Hinduism, for example, the novels of R. K. Narayan (e. g. *An Astrologer's Day, The Expert Witness, Waiting for the Mahatma)* and of other Indian writers as well as the works of English novelists such as Paul Scott's *The Jewel in the Crown* provide a useful way in; or, again, books such as Wiser and Wiser's sociological study of the same village between 1930 and 1960, *Behind Mud Walls*, M. K. Gandhi's *An Autobiography: the story of my Experiments with Truth* or N. C. Chaudhuri's *Autobiography of an Unknown Indian*. Again, there is the famous trilogy of films directed by Satyajit Ray, *The World of Apu*.

Three further points were made in discussion concerning possible approaches:

Religious systems are closely associated with family systems and the latter can be examined taking into account the effects of urbanisation in breaking down the extended family but with the continuance of basic life systems.

A useful way of approaching rice societies would be to consider the religious year and the way it is affected by the social and economic demands of society, separating the different layers in order to reveal the religious elements.

An integrated approach involving team teaching could be fruitful where the teaching situation allowed, with contributions from teachers of geography, art, religion and literature as well as history.

00154

Finally, in view of the different approaches which different teaching situations including age and ability range and the strengths of the teacher will demand, and of the need to involve pupils actively, there is a need both for evaluation of books and material and for the development of a wide range of written, aural and visual material which can be handled flexibly. Many new books have been published and much new material has been developed over the past few years aimed at different secondary school age levels, and this requires evaluation. In this connection, attention was drawn to the considerable contribution of the Shap Working Party on World Religions in Education, formed in 1969, which has brought together specialists from the various branches of education who are interested in world religions. The work of the group is detailed in an extremely useful publication from the Community Relations Commission, London: *World Religions: Aids for Teachers*. Complementing the work of Shap is that of the extramural division of the School of Oriental and African Studies which has established a resources centre and provides support for teachers, again in terms of the development and evaluation of materials, in-service courses and teacher fellowship programmes. Bibliographies for teachers such as *Asia and Africa: an Introductory Bibliography, Eastern Asia,* and a bibliography on *World History* are available together with detailed, annotated, reading lists on a variety of areas, themes and topics. A handbook for teachers of Asian, African and Latin American studies will be published next session; also draft world history syllabuses and suggestions for teaching across the secondary age range which were prepared following a recent teacher fellowship programme on world history. Individual teacher fellowships are to be awarded from next session for particular syllabus/material projects. Mention was also made of material developed by the Inner London Education Authority's ambitious five-year project on world history which links the production of teaching units with closed-circuit television programmes. In 1972–73, ILEA and SOAS plan a co-operative programme on "The world of Islam" including in-service lectures and discussions, and a teachers' workshop, leading to the production of history teaching units by ILEA.

00155

APPENDIX B

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Austria

Mr Anton Ebner,
Direktor,
Salzburger Unterrichtsanstalten für Fremdenverkehrsberufe,
Schloss Klessheim,
5071 Siezenheim (bei Salzburg)

Belgium

Mr Herman Corijn,
inspecteur d'histoire et de formation sociale de l'enseignement secondaire et supérieur,
Ministerie van Nationale Opvoeding en Cultuur,
2510 Oude-God-Antwerp,
Rue Juliaan de Vriendt 18

Mr Gérard Delcroix,
inspecteur de l'enseignement moyen et normal,
rue de la Marsalle 33,
4400 Herstal

Cyprus

Mr Andreas Mitsides,
Inspector of Religion at the Ministry of Education,
Nicosia

Denmark

Mr Knud Nedergaard,
Senior Master,
Teacher Training College,
1 Hestkøballe,
3460 Birkerød

Federal Republic of Germany

Mrs Ingeborg Eckstein,
Oberstud. Rat,
8 München 19,
Maria-Ward Straße 5

00157

Mrs Irmela Abramzik,
Studiendirektorin,
28 Bremen
Am Markt 12

Mr F. Bertram,
Studiendirektor,
32 Hildesheim
Silberfundstrasse 55

Finland

Mr Markku Mansner,
inspecteur général,
Direction générale des écoles finlandaises,
Museokatu 46 B 42,
00100 Helsinki 10

France

Mr F. G. Dreyfus,
directeur de l'institut d'études politiques,
9 place de l'Université,
67000 Strasbourg

Mr L. François,
inspecteur général,
200 rue Saint-Jacques,
75005 Paris

Greece

Mr E. Soulis,
Doctor of Philosophy (Ph. D.),
rue Sarcoudinou 115,
Athens 404

Mr G. Sarros *(apologised for absence)*,
professeur et directeur adjoint de l'École ioanidiou,
rue M. Alexandrou 15,
Nea Smyrni,
Athens

Holy See

Monseigneur M. Maccarrone,
Ordinaire d'histoire ecclésiastique à l'Université pontificale du Latran,
S. M.
00120—Città del Vaticano,
Cité du Vatican.

00158

Mr Jean Georges,
maître de stage à l'Université de Louvain, professeur au Collège de Basse-Wavre,
10, avenue des Azalées,
1350—Limal

Ireland

Mr T. G. Morris,
Primary School Inspector,
Department of Education,
Marlborough Street,
Dublin 1

Rev. Mark Tierney, O.S.B.,
Glenstal Abbey,
Murroe,
Co. Limerick

Iceland

Rev. H. Steinsson,
Principal,
The High School,
Skalholt

Italy

Mr R. Belvederi,
professeur d'histoire à la Faculté de Magistero de l'Université de Gênes,
Corso Montegrappa,
39—Gênes

Mr M. Bendiscioli,
professeur d'histoire moderne et contemporaine,
Faculté de lettres de Pavie,
via Strada Nuova 65,
Pavia

Mr F. Bonacina,
directeur de l'Office des centres didactiques,
via Cuidubaldo del Monte 54,
00197 Roma

Mr F. Margiotta Broglio,
professeur de droit écclésiastique et d'histoire des rapports entre l'Église et l'État,
Faculté des sciences politiques,
Via Laura 48,
Florence

00159

Luxembourg

Mr Paul Margue,
professeur d'histoire aux cours universitaires de Luxembourg,
38 rue Seimetz,
Luxembourg

Mr R. Humbert,
professeur d'histoire,
Lycée de garçons,
Esch-sur-Alzette

Malta

Mr Godfrey Wettinger,
Lecturer of History,
Royal University of Malta,
2 Old Mill Street,
Mellieha

Netherlands

Mrs A. J. M. Alkemade,
Inspector of Secondary Education,
Grote Spie 145,
Breda

Norway

Mr Tore Wigen,
Faculty Lecturer,
Gamle Drammensvn, 405,
1370 Asker

Mr B. A. Hennum *(apologised for absence)*,
Consultant,
Haskollvn, 47,
3400 Lierbyen

Spain

Père Santiago Martin-Jimenez,
secrétaire général du CENIEC,
Collegio Ntra Sra del Recuerdo,
Plaza Duque de Pastrana s/n,
Madrid 16

Sweden

Mr J. Janson,
School Inspector,
Anders Anderssons väg 7,
311 00 Falkenberg

00160

Switzerland

M. l'Abbé R. Fuglister,
Révérend curé de la paroisse Ste-Marie,
Holbeinstrasse 28,
4051 Bâle

Mr Jean Cavadini,
délégué à la Coordination romande en matière d'enseignement,
ruelle Mayor 2,
2000 Neuchâtel

Turkey

Mr H. Yuradaydin,
professeur,
Ankara Universitesi Ilahiyat
Fakultesi,
Islam Tarihi
Kursusu,
Ankara

Mr E. Kuran,
professeur,
Hacettepe Universitesi
Sosyal ve Idari
Bilimler Fakultesi,
Ankara

United Kingdom

Mr W. J. H. Earl,
H. M. Staff Inspector for Religious Education,
Department of Education and Science,
Elisabeth House,
York Road,
London SE1

Mr Ninian Smart,
Professor,
Department of Religious Studies,
University of Lancaster,
Bailrigg,
Lancaster

Mr R. A. Wake,
H. M. Staff Inspector for History,
Department of Education and Science,
Elizabeth House,
York Road,
London SE1

00161

Observers

Mr René Habachi,
Division de la Philosophie,
Unesco,
place de Fontenoy,
75 Paris VII

Mr G. Eckert,
Direktor,
Internationales Schulbuchinstitut,
Rebenring,
D–33 Braunschweig

Mr R. Multhoff,
Internationales Schulbuchinstitut,
Rebenring,
D–33 Braunschweig

Mr E. L. Ehrlich,
Chairman International Consultative Committee Christian-Jewish Co-operation,
Amselstrasse 25,
CH–4059 Basel

Mr A. Merad,
professeur à l'Université Lyon II,
F–69 Lyon VII

Mr A. Papaderos,
General Director of the Greek Orthodox Academy of Crete,
Gonia,
Chania,
Crete

Mr W. Vanden Eynde,
Union internationale des éditeurs,
Directeur des Éditions Wolters,
Blijde Inkomstraat 50,
B–3000 Leuven

Père V. Sinistrero,
professeur au Pontificio Ateneo Salesiano,
piazza dell'Ateneo Salesiano 1,
I–00139 Roma

Mr L. Dequeker,
Commission nationale catholique pour les relations entre juifs et chrétiens,
Dekenstraat 32,
B–3000 Leuven

Auditeurs

Mr E. Buli,
piazza S. Apollinare 49,
I–Roma

Mr E. Cooper,
Thomas Morus Akademie,
D–Bensberg (Cologne)

00162

Mr H. Leclercq,
Lentelaan 1,
B–3040 Korbeek–LO

Mr Paul M. G. Levy,
doyen de la Faculté des sciences économiques, sociales et politiques,
Jniversité Catholique de
Louvain

Direction of the Symposium

Chairman

Mr M. François,
Membre de l'institut de France, directeur de l'école nationale des Chartes,
270, boulevard Raspail,
Paris XIV

Rapporteur

Mr L. Genicot
professeur à l'Université,
Capucienenvoer 49,
B–3000 Louvain

Lecturers

Mr M. Batllori,
professeur à l'Université grégorienne,
Via di Penitenzieri 20,
I–00193 Rome

Mr M. Brecht,
Professor at the University of Tübingen,
Evangelisches Stift,
Klosterberg 2,
D–74 Tübingen

Mr A. d'Haenens,
Professeur à l'Université de Louvain,
Baertlaan 11,
B–3009 Winksele

Miss I. Hantsche,
Lecturer at the Gesamthochschule Duisburg,
Eickenscheider Fuhr 194,
D–43 Essen

Mr H. I. Marrou,
professeur à l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne,
19, rue d'Antony,
92580 Chatenay Malabry

00163

Mr J. L. Ortega,
Maestro Vitoria 3–3°,
E–Madrid 13

Mr E. O'Connor,
Organiser of Extramural Studies,
School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London,
2/3 Bloomsbury Square,
GB-London WC1A 2RN

Mr E. G. Parrinder,
Professor of Comparative Study of Religions,
London University,
31 Charterhouse Road,
GB–Orpington

Mr K. Repgen,
Professor,
Saalesstrasse 6,
D–Bonn-Ippendorf

Mrs M. Sordi,
Professeur à l'Université catholique de Milan,
viale E. Caldara 22,
I–20122 Milan

Mr F. Valsecchi,
Direttore del Istituto di studi storici,
Faculté des sciences politiques,
Université de Rome,
I–Rome

Council of Europe

Mr N. Borch-Jacobsen,
directeur de l'enseignement et des affairs culturelles et scientifiques

Mr M. Stobart,
Deputy Head of the Division for General and Technical Education

Team responsible for the examination of the content of history textbooks

Mr J. Degeye,
rue Grande,
B–Resteigne

Mr T. Delmer,
rue Gérard 15,
B–1040 Bruxelles

Mr P. Dupont,
Sluisstraat 11,
B–3000 Louvain

00164

Mr S. Dupont,
Sluisstraat 11,
B–3000 Louvain

Mr J. Georges,
avenue des Azalées 10,
B–1350 Limal

Mr J. P. Nandrin,
rue Speeckaert 80,
B–1200 Leuven

Mr G. Lemaire,
avenue Dolez 101,
B–1180 Bruxelles

Mr R. Waelkens,
rue du Ham 163,
B–1180 Bruxelles

Mr G. Zelis,
Koetsweg,
B–3200 Kessel-LO

Mr P. Sauvage,
111 chaussée de Vleurgot,
B–1050 Bruxelles

00165

PUBLICATIONS OF
THE COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION

In the same section—General and technical education

EDUCATION IN EUROPE

Pupil Guidance—Facts and problems (1964)

Teacher Training (1965)

The Observation and Guidance Period (1967)

Geography Teaching and the Revision of Geography Textbooks and Atlases (1968)

Examination—Educational aspects (1968)

School Systems: A guide (Second edition, 1970)

The Education of Young People in Europe (1973)

Education for Business and Administration (1973)

COMPANION VOLUMES

European Curriculum Studies:

No. 1 Mathem. tics (1968)

No. 2 Latin (1969)

No. 4 Chemistry (1972)

No. 5 The Mother Tongue (1972)

No. 7 Economics (1972)

No. 8 History (1972)

No. 9 Social and Civic Education (1973)

Out-of-Class Activities and Civic Education (1967)

Towards a European Civic Education During the First Phase of Secondary Education (1969)

Report on Films for the Teaching of Mathematics in Europe (1970)

Technical and Vocational Education: Six Area Studies (1970)

How to Visit a Museum (1971)

School Buildings (1972)

The Educational Needs of the 16–19 Age Group (1973)

Modern Languages in School (1973)

00166

SALES AGENTS FOR PUBLICATIONS OF THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

AUSTRIA
Gerold & Co.
Graben 31
Vienna, 1

CANADA
Information Canada
Ottawa

DENMARK
Ejnar Munksgaard
Nörregade 6
Copenhagen

FEDERAL REPUBLIC
OF GERMANY
Verlag Dr Hans Heger
Goethestraße 54, Postfach 821
D-53 Bonn-Bad Godesberg

GREECE
Librairie Kauffmann
28, rue Stadiou
Athens

ICELAND
Snaebjörn Jonsson & Co. A.F.
The English Bookshop
Hafnarstroeti 9
Reykjavik

IRELAND
Stationery Office
Dublin

ITALY
Libreria Commissionaria Sansoni
Via Lamarmora, 45
Casella Post 552
Florence

NETHERLANDS
N. V. Martinus Nijhoff
Lange Voorhout, 9
The Hague

NEW ZEALAND
Government Printing Office
Mulgrave Street
(Private Bag)
Wellington

SPAIN
Libreria Mundi-Prensa
Castelló 37
E-Madrid 1

SWEDEN
Aktiebolaget C. E. Fritze
Kungl. Hovbokhandel
Fredsgatan 2
Stockholm

SWITZERLAND
Buchhandl. Hans Raunhardt
Kirchgasse 17
8000 Zurich 1

Librairie Payot
6, rue Grenus
1211 Geneva 11

TURKEY
Librairie Hachette
469, Istiklal Caddesi
Beyoglu
Istanbul

UNITED KINGDOM
H. M. Stationery Office
P. O. Box 569, London S. E. 1

UNITED STATES
Manhattan Publishing Company
225, Lafayette Street
New York, 10012 — N. Y.

STRASBOURG
Librairie Berger-Levrault
Place Broglie

00167

austria
belgium
cyprus
denmark
federal republic of germany
finland
france
greece
holy see
iceland
ireland
italy
luxembourg
malta
netherlands
norway
spain
sweden
switzerland
turkey
united kingdom

00168

1974